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A COMPLETE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of JULIUS CÆSAR,

TO THE

TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

Containing the TRANSACTIONS of

One Thouſand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M.D.

THE SECOND EDITION.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris ſervitutis, ac teſtimonium præſentium bonorum compoſuiſſe. TACIT. Agricola.

LONDON:

Printed for JAMES RIVINGTON and JAMES FLETCHER, at the Oxford-Theatre; and R. BALDWIN, at the Roſe, in Paternoſter-row.

MDCCLVIII.

ADAMS 240.8
v. 1

To the Right Honourable

WILLIAM PITT, Esq.

One of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

SIR,

I Presume to approach you without the ceremony of a formal introduction: if my intrusion is impertinent, you will punish it by neglect.

In prefixing your name to my performance, I disclaim all sordid motives. I address myself, not to the minister, but to the patriot. What I offer is not a sacrifice to interest; but a tribute due to superior merit. Power and office are adventitious and transitory. They are often vested in the wicked and the worthless. They perpetually fluctuate between accident and caprice. To-day, you stand conspicuous at the helm of state: to-morrow, you may repose yourself in the shade of private virtue. My veneration is attached to permanent qualities: qualities that exist independent of favour or of faction: qualities which you can neither forfeit nor

 resign.

reſign. I reſpect thoſe ſhining talents by which you have diſtinguiſhed yourſelf above all your cotemporaries. I revere that integrity which you have maintained in the midſt of corruption. I appeal to you as a conſummate judge of literary merit; as an undaunted aſſertor of Britiſh liberty; as a ſteady legiſlator intimately acquainted with the conſtitution of your country, which you have ſo nobly defended from encroachment and violation.

SHOULD the Hiſtory I now preſent, have the good fortune to acquire your approbation, I ſhall bear, without repining, the inſults I may ſuſtain from the virulence of malignant cenſure. Should it be found altogether unworthy of your notice and regard, it will naturally ſink into oblivion. Whatever may be its fate with you, or with the public, I gladly ſeize this opportunity to declare that I am, with the moſt perfect eſteem and admiration,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

T. SMOLLETT.

PLAN

OF

THE COMPLETE HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

SO many Hiſtories of England have already appeared, that the editor of this performance finds it abſolutely neceſſary to make the public acquainted with the motives which have induced him to uſher into the world, another work on the ſame ſubject.

The author does not pretend to have diſcovered any authentic records which have eſcaped the notice of other hiſtorians; or to have thrown ſuch lights upon particular facts, as muſt alter the received opinions of mankind, touching the material circumſtances of the narration. His aim is to retrench the ſuperfluities of his predeceſſors, and to preſent the public with a ſuccinct, candid, and complete hiſtory of our own country, which will be more eaſy in the purchaſe, more agreeable in the peruſal, and leſs burthenſome to the memory, than any work of the ſame nature, produced in theſe kingdoms.

By the enormous bulk and prolixity of every other Engliſh hiſtory that ſtands in any degree of reputation, many a reader has been deterred from learning what every perſon ought to know, and

even

even totally discouraged from engaging in the most entertaining and useful of all rational enquiries.

The author has avoided all useless disquisitions, which serve only to swell the size of the volume, interrupt the thread of the narrative, and perplex the reader. His purpose was to compile an history, not to compose a dissertation.

He has waved all remarks of his own, except such as seemed absolutely necessary, that he might not encumber the page, and disgust the reader, by anticipating his reflection, and forestalling his judgment.

He has foreborn to record foreign incidents in which England has no immediate concern; as the design is not to publish the annals of Europe, but the transactions of one people. Neither has he literally transcribed every treaty of alliance, and each single decree of parliament, so as to form a monstrous medley of the highest enterprizes of power, and the lowliest precautions of civil oeconomy. Such a work would be a dry, tedious, fatiguing collection of public acts and statutes, rather than a well connected detail of historical events.

He has been upon his guard against that affectation of singularity, which is so apt to betray an author into a labyrinth of vague conjectures, through which the truth often vanishes from his researches.

He values himself upon being entirely free from all national jealousy and prejudice; and altogether uninfluenced by that illiberal partiality which has disgraced the works of many English historians. He is soured by no controversy in religion: he is inflamed by no faction in politics. Truth is the ob-

object of his enquiry; and candid information the ſcope of his labour.

He pretends to communicate a ſummary idea of the antient inhabitants of this iſland, as deſcribed by Greek and Latin authors, the only ſources from which we can draw any certain intelligence concerning the original poſſeſſors of Britain.

After a diſtinct detail of Cæſar's deſcent, the progreſs of the Roman arms in England under ſucceſſive emperors, the formation of the province, their improvements in the civil policy of the country, the gradual declenſion of their power, and their final retreat to the continent; he proceeds to deſcribe the firſt dawnings of the Chriſtian faith in Britain; the arrival, ſettlement, character, and genius of the Saxon adventurers: the riſe and progreſs of our conſtitution in church and ſtate; and the changes it underwent in conſequence of the Norman conqueſt.

He mentions every material tranſaction, whether of war or of peace, whether public or private, which might conduce to the illuſtration of the ſubject.

He collects his materials from the moſt authentic hiſtorians, to whoſe works he refers in the margin. He delineates the characters of princes, from the uniform tenour of their public conduct, compared with ſtriking paſſages in private life, which often exhibit the real, naked picture, uncloaked with reſerve, undiſguiſed by formality or diſſimulation.

He records every remarkable improvement in arts and ſciences, which the world has owed to the natives of this kingdom.

He

He exhibits a ſeparate view of eccleſiaſtical affairs, digeſted into diſtinct periods, from the firſt preaching of Chriſtianity in Britain, to the lateſt regulations of church-government.

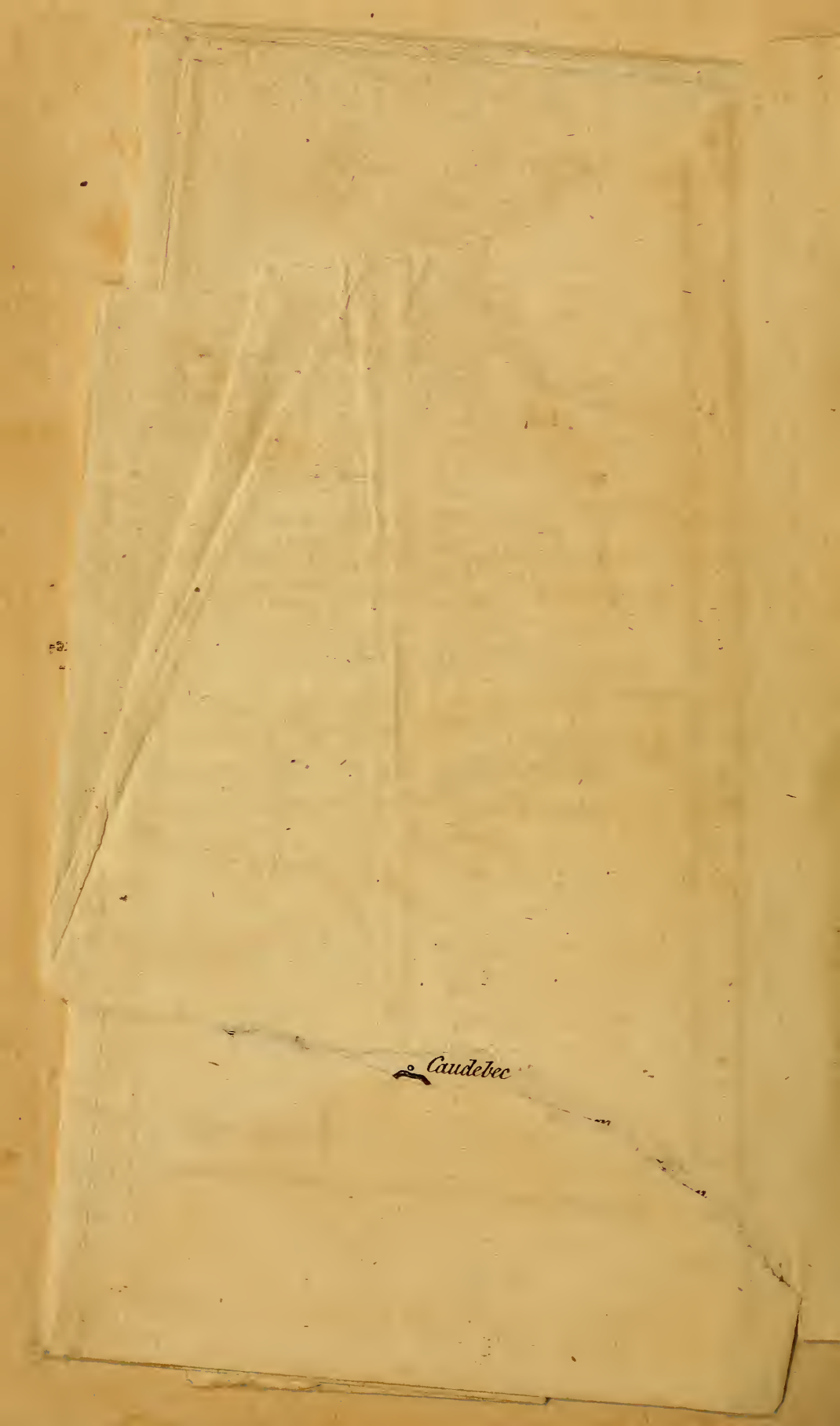
He has endeavoured to write in a clear, ſuccinct, nervous ſtile; to arrange his materials with accuracy and preciſion; to expatiate on the moſt intereſting circumſtances; and to entertain the imagination, while he informs the underſtanding.

In order to aſſiſt the memory, and ſupply proper pauſes for the attention, he has planned the work into a certain number of books or parts, each comprehending the tranſactions of one important period.

The chronology is aſcertained from year to year, on the margin.

All obſcure alluſions are explained in notes at the bottom of the page; together with the genealogical deduction of every prince's poſterity and marriages, reputed portents, detached events, and private anecdotes; which, tho' tending to elucidate the ſtory, would, if inſerted in the context, diſunite the chain of incidents, and ſpoil the uniformity of the execution.

On the whole, this work is formed upon a plan which was the reſult of the moſt mature deliberation; namely, that of being brought home to our own times and obſervation, from the earlieſt age of our hiſtorical credit to the laſt treaty of Aix la Chapelle.


Caudebec

A New MAP of
ENGLAND
AND
WALES
Divided into the
COUNTIES
Shewing all the
Cities, Burroughs and
Market Towns
with the Rivers &c.
Drawn from the latest
SURVEYS
By Tho. Kitchin Hydr.r
Explanation
SCOTLAND
IRISH SEA
ST GEORGES CHANNEL
BRISTOL CHANNEL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
NORTHUMBERLAND
CUMBERLAND
WESTMORELAND
LANCASHIRE
YORKSHIRE
LINCOLNSHIRE
NORFOLK
SUFFOLK
CAMBRIDGESHIRE
HUNTINGDONSHIRE
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE
RUTLANDSHIRE
LEICESTERSHIRE
WARWICKSHIRE
STAFFORDSHIRE
SHROPSHIRE
CHESHIRE
DERBYSHIRE
NOTTINGHAMSHIRE
HEREFORDSHIRE
MONMOUTHSHIRE
GLOUCESTERSHIRE
OXFORDSHIRE
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE
BEDFORDSHIRE
HERTFORDSHIRE
ESSEX
MIDDLESEX
SURREY
KENT
SUSSEX
HAMPSHIRE
BERKSHIRE
WILTSHIRE
SOMERSETSHIRE
DORSETSHIRE
DEVONSHIRE
CORNWALL
CARMARTHENSHIRE
PEMBROKESHIRE
CARDIGANSHIRE
MONTGOMERYSHIRE
DENBIGHSHIRE
FLINTSHIRE
MERIONETHSHIRE
CARNARVONSHIRE
ANGLESEY
I. of WIGHT
Mull of Cantire
Mull of Galloway
Berwick
Holy I.
Farn Is.
Sunderland
Tynemouth
Whitby
Scarborough
Flamborough Hd
Spurn Head
Boston
Lincoln
Yarmouth
Lowestoft
Aldborough
Harwich
Colchester
Ipswich
Bury
Newmarket
Cambridge
Ely
Peterborough
Stamford
Grantham
Newark
Retford
Doncaster
Pontefract
Leeds
Halifax
Wakefield
Rochdale
Manchester
Bolton
Warrington
Liverpool
Chester
Wrexham
Ruthin
Denbigh
Rhyl
Conway
Bangor
Carnarvon
Holyhead
Anglesey
Beaumaris
Aberystwith
Cardigan
Tenby
Pembroke
Milford Haven
Haverfordwest
Carmarthen
Swansea
Neath
Cardiff
Newport
Monmouth
Chepstow
Hereford
Ross
Leominster
Ludlow
Bridgnorth
Shrewsbury
Oswestry
Wem
Whitchurch
Nantwich
Newcastle
Stafford
Lichfield
Tamworth
Coventry
Warwick
Birmingham
Wolverhampton
Dudley
Worcester
Tewkesbury
Gloucester
Cirencester
Malmesbury
Chippenham
Devizes
Marlborough
Swindon
Abingdon
Oxford
Woodstock
Banbury
Daventry
Northampton
Towcester
Buckingham
Aylesbury
Wycombe
Henley
Reading
Newbury
Basingstoke
Andover
Winchester
Southampton
Lymington
Christchurch
Poole
Dorchester
Weymouth
Bridport
Lyme
Axminster
Honiton
Exeter
Crediton
Tiverton
Barnstaple
Bideford
Hartland Pt
Clovelly
Launceston
Okehampton
Plymouth
Dartmouth
Totnes
Ashburton
Newton Bushel
Kingsbridge
Salcombe
Plymouth Sound
Falmouth
Truro
Penzance
Helston
Redruth
Camborne
St Ives
Hayle
Padstow
Bodmin
Liskeard
Looe
Fowey
St Austle
St Columb
Launceston
Tavistock
Lands End
Scilly Is.
Land's End
Lizard Point
Start Pt
Portland
Beachy Head
Dungeness
Rye
Hastings
Winchelsea
Romney
Hythe
Folkestone
Dover
Deal
Sandwich
Margate
Ramsgate
North Foreland
Reculver
Whitstable
Faversham
Sittingbourne
Rochester
Chatham
Gravesend
Tilbury
Maldon
Chelmsford
Harwich
Ipswich
Woodbridge
Aldborough
Yarmouth
Lowestoft
Beccles
Bungay
Diss
Thetford
Swaffham
Lynn
Wisbech
Peterborough
Stamford
Oakham
Uppingham
Melton Mowbray
Loughborough
Derby
Ashbourne
Matlock
Chesterfield
Sheffield
Rotherham
Barnsley
Wakefield
Pontefract
Selby
York
Malton
Pickering
Whitby
Guisborough
Stockton
Darlington
Durham
Sunderland
Newcastle
Morpeth
Alnwick
Berwick
Holy I.
Farn Is.
Tynemouth
Cullercoats
Shields
Hexham
Corbridge
Haltwhistle
Brampton
Carlisle
Penrith
Appleby
Kirkby Stephen
Sedbergh
Kendal
Ambleside
Keswick
Cockermouth
Workington
Whitehaven
Ravenglass
Millom
Ulverston
Dalton
Furness
Lancaster
Preston
Wigan
Ormskirk
Liverpool
Chester
Knutsford
Macclesfield
Congleton
Leek
Uttoxeter
Burton
Ashby de la Zouch
Hinckley
Nuneaton
Atherstone
Tamworth
Lichfield
Rugeley
Cannock
Wolverhampton
Walsall
Dudley
Bromsgrove
Kidderminster
Stourbridge
Birmingham
Solihull
Alcester
Evesham
Pershore
Upton
Tewkesbury
Cheltenham
Gloucester
Stroud
Dursley
Berkeley
Thornbury
Chepstow
Monmouth
Ross
Ledbury
Bromyard
Leominster
Kington
Presteigne
Knighton
Builth
Rhayader
Llandovery
Llandilo
Carmarthen
Kidwelly
Llanelly
Swansea
Neath
Bridgend
Cowbridge
Cardiff
Caerphilly
Newport
Pontypool
Abergavenny
Brecon
Hay
Talgarth
Crickhowell
Usk
Caerleon
Tredegar
Merthyr Tydvil
Aberdare
Pontypridd
Llantrissant
Llandaff
Penarth
Barry
Cardiff
Newport
Caldicot
Chepstow
Monmouth
Ross
Hereford
Leominster
Ludlow
Bridgnorth
Shrewsbury
Oswestry
Wrexham
Ruthin
Denbigh
Rhyl
Conway
Bangor
Carnarvon
Holyhead
Anglesey
Beaumaris
Aberystwith
Cardigan
Tenby
Pembroke
Milford Haven
Haverfordwest
Carmarthen
Swansea
Neath
Cardiff
Newport
Monmouth
Chepstow
Hereford
Ross

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK FIRST.

From the earlieſt ACCOUNTS of BRITAIN to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

An introductory reflection.

THE firſt and moſt important effort of human genius appears to have been the art of tranſmitting and perpetuating ideas; and this ſhines in nothing more conſpicuous than in the labours of hiſtorians, which not only preſent us with a review of all thoſe mighty events which influenced the fate of nations, but alſo communicate to our inquiry the whole progreſs of improvement, the whole circle of knowledge and experience. In this delightful ſtudy we become acquainted with the characters and even the perſons of thoſe heroes who triumphed over barbarity, of thoſe legiſlators who ſtrengthned the bands of ſociety, and of thoſe philoſophers who inſtructed, poliſhed, and reformed mankind. The faculties of the mind are opened and enlarged in the contemplation of ſuch an expanded field: the humane paſſions are intereſted in the fortune of the remoteſt

nations, becauſe humanity is every where the ſame; and, howſoever divided by mountains, rivers, and ſeas, ſevered by policy, diſperſed by accident, or diſtinguiſhed by a difference of laws, language, climate, or complexion, we are all the children of one parent; all the brethren of one family. The underſtanding unfolds and ripens in proportion to the exerciſe it undergoes; the memory retains the reflection, profits by the example, and the heart glows with a laudable emulation to rival the practice of recorded virtue.

Of all the diſtricts in this wide extended field, no province exhibits more illuſtrious ſcenes and characters; no hiſtory a richer fund of entertainment and inſtruction, than that of Britain, which we now purpoſe to diſplay; and ſurely no ſubject can merit our attention ſo much, no theme ſo warmly engage our hearts, as that which treats of our own country; as that which expatiates upon incidents relating to thoſe very anceſtors from whom we ourſelves are immediately derived. Yet, how intereſting ſoever the ſubject may be, the taſk is not to be performed without difficulty and even diſguſt, ariſing from the obſcurity that veils the origin of this as well as of all other nations, and the perplexed though elaborate diſcuſſions of thoſe who have fondly endeavoured, by wild conjectures, to trace it backwards into the ſhades of ignorance and allegory of fable.

Among other uncertainties, nothing ſeems to have puzzled thoſe ſearchers into antiquity more than the name of the iſland, which has been variouſly pronounced by various nations, according to the particular genius and termination of every reſpective language.

Of the name of Britain,

The Phœnicians, who firſt traded to the weſtern coaſt of the iſland for tin, lead, and ſkins, diſtinguiſhed the country by the appellation of Bratanack,

tanack, which, in their language, signifies The Land of Tin; and it was afterwards known to the Greeks by the names of Albion, Bretanike, and Bretanea, which last was adopted by the Romans. Aristotle. Strabo. Dio. Diod. Sic. Herodian.

*Abundance of learning and conjecture hath been displayed in endeavours to investigate the derivation of these names, which however is not yet ascertained; nor if it were, could the discovery serve any other purpose than that of gratifying the impatience of idle curiosity. Whatever may have given birth to the name, Britain, the favourite residence of liberty and plenty, mistress of wealth and commerce, and undoubted sovereign of the sea, is one of the largest islands of the known world, extending one thousand eight hundred and thirty six miles in circuit, situated at the distance of twenty miles from the coast of France, to the north-west of Europe, in a triangular form, bounded by the Atlantic and German oceans that meet from the east and west, forming the British channel on the south, fronting Ireland on the west, and washed on the north by the Deucaledonian sea, famous for its numerous isles, that in a manner guard their parent coast, and look like so many jewels in the British crown. its form, situation,

The Streight of Dover, by which it is divided from the continent, is so narrow as to have given birth, in all probability, to an ancient tradition,

* Albion may be derived from the Greek Ἀλπος, the Roman Albus, or the Sabine Alpus, which signify White; applied to the chalky cliffs of Britain seen from the continent, or more probably from the Celtic Alp or Alb, which carries the same meaning: though others maintain, that all mountains and high places were by the Celtæ known and distinguished by the name of Alpes or Albes. Vide note on Tac. de mor. Ger.

As for Britannia, Camden deduces it from Brith, signifying Painted, in the British language, and Tania, a Greek word for Regio, or Tan, which has the same signification in the British tongue.

But Luwyd the British antiquary contends for Prydhain or Prydcain, a Welsh appellation, importing a White Colour; and Carte subscribes to this conjecture.

importing that Britain was originally joined to France, from which it was afterwards ſevered by the univerſal deluge, or ſome other violent ſhock of nature. This notion hath been eſpouſed by many authors, ancient as well as modern; and one writer in particular, endeavours to ſupport the conjecture, by obſerving, that the appellation of cliffs given to the rocks on both ſides of the channel, ſeems to imply their having been cleft aſunder; that the extent of theſe rocks is exactly the ſame on each ſide, fronting one another; that they have the ſame appearance, riſing perpendicular and abrupt from the ſhore, unlike the gradual aſcent of the hills and mountains on other coaſts, that generally ſlope towards the adjoining valleys; and that a ridge of rock runs acroſs the ſtreights at the bottom of the ſea. To theſe obſervations we may add, that Holland, Zealand, and the lower parts of Flanders, plainly appear to have been once covered with the ſea, which would naturally leave them dry on finding ſuch a paſſage; and that the ſetting of two ſuch furious tides, as muſt have flowed from the eaſtern and weſtern oceans, may very well be ſuppoſed, in a ſeries of ages, to have forced their way through ſuch a narrow iſthmus.

Verſtegan.

Vid. Philoſophical Tranſactions, n. 275. & ſeq.

and natural advantages.

Such a ſeparation (if it really happened) was an advantage to Great-Britain, inaſmuch as it formed a noble barrier to defend this iſland from the inſults, intrigues, and invaſions of its neighbours, of whom it was in other reſpects altogether independent; for it produces all the neceſſaries and comforts of life: the ſoil is fruitful, the air, though moiſt, not unhealthy: it abounds with cattle, corn, timber, minerals, and metals: the windings and identations of the coaſt afford numberleſs bays, creeks, and harbours for the ſecurity of ſhipping, and the ſurrounding ſea teems with myriads of fiſh for food and exportation. Here the ſummer is not ſcorching,

ing, nor the winter ſevere; the heat is tempered with cooling breezes, the froſt is tamed by the warmth of the ſea, the ground is cloathed with a perpetual verdure, and the country diverſified with hill and dale, ſo as to exhibit a variety of enchanting proſpects to the view.

All theſe natural advantages could not fail to attract the notice of thoſe who wandered about in queſt of habitations, and we find it was peopled long before mankind had invented the art of tranſmitting events to poſterity; for, the Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans, in extending their commerce and navigation, found Britain already popuous and powerful, and traded with the inhabitants ſome ages before the chriſtian æra. Of theſe the Phœnicians ſeem firſt to have diſcovered the weſtern extremities of the iſland, from whence they exported tin and other commodities: and conſidered this traffic as a matter of ſuch conſequence, that they erected a number of forts or caſtles in that province which is now called Cornwall, for the protection of the traders, and the preſervation of that commerce*. Nay, ſo jealous were they of this advantage, that they concealed the voyage from all the reſt of the world; and when one of their ſhips was followed by a Roman veſſel, fitted out to diſcover her deſtination, the Phœnician pilot ran the bark aſhore, that the Romans might be diſappointed in their aim; and at his return was indemnified out of the public treaſury.

Strabo. Plin. nat. hiſt. Herod. de Caſterid.

Strab. lib. 3.

* Meneg, part of Cornwall, is of Phœnician derivation, and ſignifies Bounded by the ſea: in this peninſula is a heap of ſtones on the banks of a lake called Erth or Arith, which is the Phœnician word for lake; the famous hill Godolian implies plenty of metal, in the ſame language; Penn, a hill, comes from the Phœnician Penna, and Tra from Tera, ſignifying a caſtle. Theſe two initial words occur remarkably often in the names of Corniſh places; for example, Penroſe, Penzance, Pengarſick, Penwarren, Pendennis, Penwin, Pentuan, Penrock: Trewoſe, Trenowth, Tregenno, Trevaſcus, Trenora, Treworgan, Treliſtock, Trefuſes, Tremardart, Tregonoe.

The Britiſh iſles, including thoſe of Scilly, called by the Greeks Caſſiterides, were diſcovered by the Phœnicians about four hundred and fifty years before the birth of Chriſt; and a trade to theſe parts was opened by the Carthaginians, who, about the year of Rome three hundred and ſeven, ſent Hanno and Hamilcar with two fleets to ſea, north and ſouth from the ſtreights of Gibraltar, with a view to diſcover the weſtern coaſts of Africa and Europe, with the iſlands that lay in the Atlantic ocean. Hamilcar, who was charged with the northern voyage, having coaſted along Spain and Gaul, diſcovered the iſland of Great-Britain; and ſailing up the channel, penetrated into the German ocean as far as the Baltic. Long before this period, however, Britain was peopled from the continent; and almoſt all authors, who have treated on this ſubject, agree that the firſt inhabitants owed their origin to the Celtæ or Gauls that ſettled on the oppoſite ſhore. A ſuppoſition founded upon the evident conformity between them in the circumſtances of laws, religion, language, manners, and complexion: for they knew not the uſe of letters, and had no hiſtory but oral tradition.

The manner in which it was firſt peopled.

Thoſe Celtæ, Galatæ, Gauls, or Cimbri, are ſaid to have been the deſcendants of Gomer, the ſon of Japhet, who having ſettled originally in the Eaſt, multiplied to ſuch a degree, that they were obliged to ſend off colonies, one of which, under the conduct of Acmon, penetrated into Europe, where he eſtabliſhed the empire of the Titans: this was farther extended by his ſucceſſors, Saturn, Jupiter, Dis, and Mercury or Teutat, who conquered all the weſtern parts of Europe, and maintained his ſway to the extremities of Germany and Gaul. Teutat, from whom the Teutones pretend to derive their origin, was a wiſe and virtuous prince, who ruled with clemency and juſtice, encou-

Some account of the Celtæ.

couraging the arts of peace, and particularly commerce; from whence he acquired the appellation of Merc-ur, which, in the language of the Celtæ, ſignifies a Trading man. Pezron Antiquité des Celtes.

* It was in his reign, when navigation began to be firſt practiſed, that a colony of his adventurous ſubjects, allured by the appearance of Britain, which they beheld from the coaſt of Gaul, embarked in open boats, and arrived at this iſland, of which they took immediate poſſeſſion; and theſe retired into the inland parts of the country, where they led a life of indolent, paſtoral ſimplicity, without engaging in commerce with their neighbours, or even employing themſelves in the cultivation of their lands. They ſeem to have lived abſtracted from all intercourſe and communication, and devoted their whole attention to the ſuperſtitious rites of their religion, which they piqued themſelves upon handing down pure and ſacred from all innovation to their deſcendants, which Cæſar in after-ages ſuppoſed to be the Aborigines of the country, becauſe they inhabited the more interior parts of the iſland, and differed ſo widely in their manners and cuſtoms from the people who were ſettled on the ſea-coaſt for the convenience of traffic.

Without pretending to refute or acquieſce in this ingenious theory, which cannot be ſupported by hiſtorical authority, inaſmuch as the event is ſaid to have happened before the uſe of records, or even of letters, was known; we ſhall only obſerve, that when Cæſar arrived in Britain, he found the maritime places poſſeſſed by colonies of the Belgæ, who,

* Carte, in his hiſtory of England, has inſerted a detail of thoſe kings and their migrations, from Pezron's Antiquité des Celtes, which is a work of much labour and little authority; inaſmuch as the ſuperſtructure he rears, is founded on occaſional hints from Greek authors, bewildered in the darkneſs of Mythology, conceits of the fathers, and vague conjectures of the author's own imagination.

invited by the proſpect of ſpoil or traffic, had tranſported themſelves from the oppoſite coaſt of Gaul; and finding the country fertile, ſalubrious, and commodiouſly ſituated for trade, ſettled upon the ſea-ſide, and introduced the practice of agriculture. Theſe ſettlers, who quitted the continent at different times, and came from different parts of Gaul, ſtill retained the names of thoſe ſtates from which they were derived; and ſome authors imagine, that in the courſe of theſe migrations, the Britons among others arrived from the main land, being no other than a colony from a people diſtinguiſhed by that appellation, who inhabited the province now known by the name of Picardy.

Sanſon. Dionyſius. Pliny nat. hiſt.

That there was ſuch a people inhabiting the ſea-coaſt, from Flanders to the extremity of Bretagne, is hardly to be queſtioned: but whether they were the anceſtors or deſcendants of the Albion Britons, we ſhall not attempt to determine: certain we are, the iſlanders were very numerous, bold and enterpriſing; and as they did not cultivate their lands, they might find it difficult, in the progreſs of their multiplication, to ſubſiſt in their own country; an inconvenience which they would naturally ſeek to remedy, by wafting over colonies to the continent of Gaul. Indeed we conceive this expedient might have been frequently practiſed from both ſides of the channel, according to the power of the invader, and the emergency of the occaſion.

Be that as it may, the inland inhabitants of Britain, who called themſelves * Cumri, as being deſcended

* The Welch to this day call themſelves Kumero, Cymro, Kumeri, and their language Kumeraeg, is evidently, ſaith Camden, derived from Gomer the ſon of Japhet, whoſe poſterity extended themſelves to the remoteſt parts of Europe. As for the fable of Brutus the Trojan, deviſed by Geoffry of Monmouth, and copied by Matthew of Weſtminſter and other monkiſh hiſtorians, it is rejected by all men of learning and reflection, as an idle, ill-invented ſtory, trumped up in emulation to the Romans, whom

ſcended from the antient Cimbri, ſtudiouſly avoided all correſpondence with the new-comers, whom they conſidered as interlopers, who had incroached upon their poſſeſſions. Theſe original Britons are repreſented by Julius Cæſar, as extremely numerous, living in cottages thatched with ſtraw, like thoſe of the Gauls, and feeding large herds of cattle: they ſowed no corn, but lived upon fleſh and milk, of which however they did not know how to make cheeſe: their hair flowed down upon their backs and ſhoulders, though they ſhaved all their face except their upper lip: they were clad in ſkins, and their bodies painted with woad †, in order to render them the more dreadful to their enemies; they uſed promiſcuous copulation, and were even inceſtuous in their venery, and their children were deemed the progeny of thoſe who had firſt deprived the women of their virginity. They abſtained from eating hares, fowls, and geeſe, though they kept them about their houſes for pleaſure; they uſed imported braſs or iron rings of a certain weight, inſtead of money; they were like the Gauls, divided into three claſſes or orders; namely, the Druids, the Equites, and the Plebeians: but theſe laſt had no ſhare in the adminiſtration. The Equites were their nobles that commanded in war, and the ſupreme magiſtracy was veſted in the Druids, who

Cæſar's deſcription of the inhabitants.

whom Virgil in his Æneis had ſo elegantly flattered with the ſuppoſition of their being deſcended frum the Trojans. Of equal authenticity with this legend, is the other, importing that this iſland was called Albion after the ſon of Neptune, who conquered it from the deſcendants of Dis Samothes, and was afterwards vanquiſhed and ſlain by Hercules, in a pitched battle fought near the mouth of the Rhone. Hollingſhed's Chronicle.

† Cæſar ſays, they tinged their bodies with glaſs. And that this was actually the caſe, will appear very probable to thoſe who have handled Kelp; in other words the ſea-weed burnt and vitrefied, a ſubſtance uſed in the compoſition of glaſs, which being ſlightly rubbed upon the human body, communicates a blue colour, which is not waſhed out but with great difficulty. We know the Britons ſettled on the ſea-coaſt, made utenſils of glaſs; and it is natural to ſuppoſe, they found their account in bartering or ſelling this ſubſtance to the inland inhabitants.

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presided over all their civil as well as religious jurisdiction.

Of the Druids.

These chiefs of their legislature and superstition are supposed to have adopted the principles and ceremonies of the Curetes, who were also descended from Gomer, and to have derived their appellation from the Celtic word Deru, which signifies an oak, because they held this tree as sacred, and celebrated their rites and sacrifices in sequestered groves, where the silence and solitude of the place assisted their contemplation. They, and they only, pretended to exercise the art of divination; they offered the sacrifices in public as well as in private, and interpreted the will of heaven. They were always attended by a concourse of young men, the charge of whose education they undertook: they decided in all controversies, whether the dispute turned upon misdemeanors, capital crimes, inheritance, or property; they acquitted or condemned; they distributed rewards or punishments; and if any person refused to abide by their decisions, he was interdicted from all religious rites and intercourse, deprived of the benefit of the laws, rendered incapable of any office of trust or honour, and held in universal abhorence, as a monster of sacrilege and impiety.

One particular Druid presided over all the rest with unlimited authority; and at his death, the next in learning, dignity, and virtue, was elected as his successor: not but that sometimes there was a warm competition for this honourable pontificate; and, in that case, it was generally determined by force of arms; though the Druids, by their profession, were exempted from the hardships and perils of war, as well as from taxes and all other kinds of imposition. Such immunities could not fail to invite numbers into their order, and even those of the prime nobility. They opened a session once a year,

year, in a certain conſecrated place, in which all cauſes were tried and determined: and there too they harrangued to their pupils on the ſubjects of religion, law, and philoſophy. They taught the immortality and tranſmigration of the ſoul, which they believed in common with the Pythagoreans, to whom (as ſome writers imagine) they communicated this doctrine: they worſhipped one ſupreme God, immenſe and infinite; but would not confine their adoration to a temple, becauſe they deemed it inconſiſtent with thoſe attributes: yet they admitted an inferior claſs of deities, and payed divine honours to Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Mercury, under the denomination of Taranus, Heſus, Belenes, and Teutates. To theſe, ſome authors have added Minerva; Diana, under the name of Adraſte; and Hercules, who was known to the Britons by the appellation of Ogmius the god of Eloquence.

Clem. Alexandrin.

Cæſ. Com. Lactant. Lucan.

The Druids adored their gods in prayer, thankſgiving, and ſacrifice. They compoſed an infinite number of ſongs and hymns in praiſe of their deities, which were ſung in concert, accompanied with the muſic of harps, upon ſolemn and regularly revolving feſtivals, inſtituted in honour of their divinities; and theſe were alſo celebrated with dancing, feaſting, interludes, and games, reſembling the Delian ceremonies, performed, and conſecrated to Apollo and Diana. Indeed their whole law and religion ſeem to have been taught in verſe; for, ſome Druids ſpent twenty years in learning to repeat theſe rhymes, which were never committed to writing; either becauſe the uſe of letters was unknown; or that they did not chuſe to communicate their myſteries to the vulgar; or, laſtly, becauſe they imagined the underſtanding would improve by the exerciſe of the memory, which would have been rendered of little conſequence had their poetry

Their religion.

poetry been perpetuated in written volumes or records. The taſk of compoſing and reciting thoſe hymns belonged to the Bards, who are mentioned by Strabo as diſtinct from the Druids and the Vates, theſe laſt having been appointed to perform the ſacrifices and rites of divination: whereas the Druids ſtudied natural and moral philoſophy, together with the motion of the heavenly bodies. With reſpect to the Bards, they were ſet apart for compoſing poems in honour of the immortal gods and deceaſed heroes; which they ſung to the muſic of the lyre. But, all theſe diſtinctions ſeem to be no other than the diſtribution of particular functions among different individuals that compoſed the ſame ſociety.

Strabo. Poſidonius. Marcellinus.

Of the bards and ſacrifices.

The name of Bard is of Phœnician derivation, and was probably introduced into Britain by that people, who likewiſe infected them with great part of their ſuperſtition, and taught them the cruel and barbarous practice of human ſacrifice, for which the Phœnicians were notorious; although the Gauls, the Lacedemonians, Thracians, Scythians, and almoſt all the nations of Europe, were at that period addicted to the ſame abominable act of inhumanity. They probably imagined, that the more valuable the life, the more acceptable was the ſacrifice: and the Britons and Gauls adopted this rite the more eagerly, as they deemed it ſubſervient to the divining of future events; for having ſtabbed the victim, they prognoſticated good or evil fortune from the appearance of the ſtreaming blood, and the manner in which the members were convulſed; and afterwards formed omens and auguries from the inſpection of the entrails. A ceremony ſo inhuman and deteſtable, that the Romans, contrary to their uſual clemency and political regard to conquered nations, ſoon after they ſubdued Britain, extirpated the whole

Diod. Sic.

race

race of thoſe religious butchers, with almoſt every memorial of their ſuperſtition.

Tiberius ſuppreſſed thoſe human ſacrifices in Gaul; and Claudius deſtroyed the Druids of that country; but they ſubſiſted in Britain till the reign of Nero, when Paulus Suetonius reduced the iſland of Angleſey, which was the place of their retreat, and overwhelmed them with ſuch unexpected and ſudden deſtruction, that all their knowledge and tradition, conveyed to them in the ſongs of their predeceſſors, periſhed at once. We have already obſerved, that the worſhip of the Druids was, like that of ſome of the old patriarchs, as well as the rites of many heathen nations, performed in ſolitary groves, and that in all probability they derived their name from Deru, ſignifying an oak; a tree for which they expreſſed the utmoſt veneration. Their religious places were ſurrounded with oaken fences; their altars were ſtrewed with the leaves, and encircled with the boughs of oak, which afforded alſo wreaths to crown the victims, and garlands to adorn the brows of the bards, dancers, and devotees, who aſſiſted at their feſtivals. Mela, l. 3.

They believed there was a very ſublime myſtery contained in the miſsletoe, which they ſought with eagerneſs, found with tranſport, and gathered in the midſt of an infinite concourſe of people, who flocked from all quarters at the ſtated times appointed for this ſolemnity, to welcome what they deemed the pledge and earneſt of future felicity. On this occaſion, the Druid, clad in a white garment, aſcended the tree, and cropped the miſsletoe with a conſecrated golden pruning-hook, as the annual preſent of the Gods, and a certain remedy againſt all diſeaſes. Their veneration for the miſsletoe of the oak.

Though the Druids had originally no temples, either becauſe they were ignorant of the art of building ſtone edifices, or held it impious and abſurd to worſhip

worſhip the immenſity of the Supreme Being within narrow walls, erected by the feeble hands and circumſcribed invention of man; they, in proceſs of time, adopted the practice of other nations, and raiſed temples and monuments in honour of the inferior deities whom they adored: theſe, however, were open at the top, and generally conſiſted of rude ſtone pillars placed in a circular form, with a ſloping altar in the middle*; and hard by a ſort of an obeliſk, bored in different parts for the convenience of binding the unhappy victims, or of faſtening thoſe coloſſi of baſket work, which, as Cæſar relates, were filled with the wretches devoted to the flames.

Excluſive of this diabolical ſuperſtition, the Druids are ſaid to have made a very good uſe of their power and influence: they were celebrated for the innocence of their manners, and their equitable and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice: they inſpected the conduct of magiſtrates, took care that the laws ſhould be put in execution, vacated all illegal acts of the ſovereign, whom they ſcrupled not to depoſe, when he was unduly elected, or abuſed his authority. Nor was their importance altogether owing to their religious character, but depended in a great meaſure on the dignity of their birth, and the intereſt of their family; for the function of a Druid neither derogated from their nobility, nor excluded them from the higheſt offices in the ſtate: they continued to enjoy both without the leaſt reſtriction, and ſome of them were even known to exerciſe the ſovereign power. Such were

Cæſar de Bello Gallico.

* The remains of ſuch a temple are ſtill to be ſeen at Stonehenge, near Ambreſbury in Wiltſhire; and there are monuments of the ſame kind in the Orkneys and weſtern iſles of Scotland: but, beſides theſe, we find a number of conical heaps or eminences all over the kingdom, with a flat ſtone always at the top, known by the name of Carnedde, on which, in all likelihood, the Druids offered ſacrifices, and perhaps inſtructed the people in the duties of religion and morality.

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the brothers Divitiacus and Dumnorix, princes of the Ædui, mentioned by Cicero and Cæsar, who headed the armies of their country; and such, perhaps, was the chief of every tribe, who, though he did not live in their colleges and seminaries, exercised the functions of the priesthood, like the fathers of families in the early ages of the world. Those chiefs might well maintain the same character and prerogative among the people of their respective clans, which were no other than multiplied families, that, for their common safety and advantage, united together to form particular states, like the Gauls, under the government of an ordinary senate, and an extraordinary general council, which met annually, and assembled on special occasions.

The great power and quality of the Druids.

It is natural to suppose, that the petty princes of Gaul and Britain would eagerly desire to be associated with the order of the Druids, that they might make themselves perfect in the arts of augury and divination, so useful to strengthen their authority, and establish an absolute submission and dependence in their vassals; and even these, though they spent their vigorous days in active scenes of life, for the interest of their country, or the advantage of their own private concerns, yet, in their decline, might have retired to those seminaries, where they could better indulge their contemplation, and contribute to the instruction of the young noblemen who put themselves under their tuition; for, no plebeian could be admitted into their society. Mela, l. 3.

The institution of the Druids, notwithstanding the dangerous power that was vested in their hands, will appear to have been extremely well calculated for preventing rapine, violence, and outrage, among a passionate, vindictive, savage people, like the Gauls and Britons, living in separate dynasties, divided

divided by particular intereſts, and ſubject to perpetual feuds and animoſities. The Druids, I ſay, will appear to have been extremely well qualified for mitigating their ferocity, and preventing the deſperate effects of their mutual jealouſy and quarrels; when we conſider that thoſe philoſophers were men of the firſt quality, connected with the contending parties by the ties of conſanguinity and alliance, uncorrupted by vice and luxury, weaned from all intereſted attachments, fitted by their education and experience for inveſtigating the truth, and determining diſputes according to the rules of equity, and inveſted with the character that inſpired awe and veneration. With theſe advantages, they employed their mediation occaſionally, when the peace and welfare of their country were at ſtake; they threw themſelves between embattled armies ready to engage, diſarmed them of their rage, and effected an accommodation by the ſtrength of their remonſtrances, and the irreſiſtible power of their elocution *.

Diod. Sicul. l. 3.

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* The ſeminaries erected for the education of the Gauliſh Druids, were at Dreux, and thoſe of the Britons in the iſle of Angleſey, where the remains of their colleges are ſtill to be ſeen; but the chief ſeat of their learning and religion is ſuppoſed to have been in the Hebrides, or weſtern iſles of Scotland; and Carte, in his hiſtory of England, has beſtowed great pains to confirm this conjecture. He attempts to prove, from Cluver's Germania Antiqua, and other authors, that the Britiſh iſles, as well as all the Celtic nations in the north of Europe, were known to the Greeks by the name of Hyperborei; that the Hebrides, or rather the iſle of Harries, in particular, was the place deſcribed by Diodorus Siculus, who ſays, he copied Hecatæus, and other authors, in his deſcription of the Hyperborean iſland, lying in the ocean beyond Gaul, in the north-weſt of Europe; that many ages before the Phœnicians traded to the coaſt of Britain, this iſland was known to the Greeks of Delos, with whom its inhabitants carried on a regular correſpondence; tranſmitting every year the firſt fruits of the earth, as an offering to the Delian deities, which they themſelves alſo adored with great conformity of worſhip; and that this intercourſe having been intermitted for ſome time, an Hyperborean Druid, of the name of Abares, was ſent to Greece to renew this league of friendſhip and alliance, about ſix hundred years before the Chriſtian Æra.---True it is, Herodotus mentions a nation of the Hyperborei unknown to the Scythians, but

In the dark ages of ignorance, religion and government could not well be divided, inaſmuch as the one was founded upon the other; at leaſt, all obedience and ſubordination flowed from an opinion of ſuperior power and underſtanding in the chief, who, in order to maintain this opinion, would naturally call in the illuſions of ſuperſtition, and ſet himſelf up as an interpreter of the will of heaven. Thus, cunning and ſagacity in proceſs of time obtained a victory over brutal ſtrength; and thus, the ſociety of Druids became in a manner the legiſlative power of Gaul and Britain: for, though the civil magiſtrate wore the trappings of ſovereignty; though the ordinary detail of the adminiſtration belonged to a ſenate; and all the princes or chieftains aſſembled once a year, to deliberate upon the emergencies of the ſtate; no propoſal was made, no ſtep taken, without the conſent and concurrence of the chief Druid, near the place of whoſe reſidence all thoſe extraordinary diets were convened. Mona antiqua.

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but greatly reſpected at Delos, whither they uſed to ſend, from time to time, ſacred preſents of their firſt-fruits, wrapped in bundles of wheat-ſtraw, like thoſe uſed by the Thracians in their rites and ſacrifices to Diana. Theſe were ſent at firſt by deputies conſiſting of two virgins and five men, who were received with the greateſt honours by the Delians; and when the virgins died, their funerals were celebrated with the utmoſt ſolemnity, and even hymns compoſed in their praiſe. The Hyperboreans, loth to run the riſque of loſing the moſt valuable perſons of their nation, in ſuch a tedious and hazardous peregrination, fell afterwards upon another expedient for ſending their offerings to the temples of Apollo and Diana; they delivered them to their neighbours on the continent, requeſting that they might be forwarded from one people to another, until they arrived at the Adriatic, where they were put into the hands of the Dodonians, who conveyed them ſafely to Delos. As the Greeks increaſed in reputation for learning, the Druids of the Hebrides, diſſatisfied with this diſtant manner of communication, deputed one of their number to go and diſcover what improvements had been made in knowledge, and renew the antient league with the Delians. This was the famous Abaris celebrated by Jamblicus and Porphyry, who ſay he was a prieſt of Apollo; that he travelled over all Greece, and paſſing to Crotona in Italy, viſited Pythagoras,

The genius and disposition of the Britons.

The original Britons lived in tribes or separate clans, under the aristocratical rule of their several lords; and though some of these uniting, formed themselves into more powerful states, investing particular chiefs with the royal authority, each apart considered himself as an independent sovereign; and a great number being unwilling to undergo the least compulsion or controul, contented themselves with electing a general in times of danger, when they thought themselves obliged to join their forces for their mutual safety: not but that they were often blind to their own interest in this particular, and refusing to unite, saw themselves assaulted and reduced in their turns; so that while they fought in single tribes, the whole nation was vanquished.

with whom he contracted an intimacy of friendship. Strabo gives us to understand that Abaris was admired by the Greeks for his politeness and integrity. Himorius describes him as covered with a plaid fastened with a gilded belt that encircled his loins, from whence his trousers descended to the soles of his feet: he carried a bow in his hand, and a quiver hung from his shoulders. He was easy in his address, agreeable in his conversation; a man of great discernment, eager in the pursuit of knowledge, unblemished in his morals; and he spoke the Greek language with great fluency and elocution.

Notwithstanding all the learning which has been displayed, and the ingenious conjectures that have been formed from the situation of the Hebrides, the disposition of the natives, the nature of their worship, and the remains of their temples, to prove that they were the Hyperboreans of which this philosopher was a native; the fact still remains dubious and uncertain. The great antiquity of the event has removed it without the sphere of distinct observation. Diodorus Siculus, who describes this Hyperborean island, certainly believed it was different from Britain or Ireland, with which he was well acquainted; otherwise he would have distinguished it by its proper name: such a correspondence between the Delians and Hyperborean islanders could not fail to open a trade between Greece and Britain, which did not take place till some ages after this period, tho' many of the states of Greece were then acquainted with navigation. Herodotus in relating the story of the Hyperborean deputies, does not mention one word of their coming from an island; and looks upon the circumstance of Abaris as a meer fable. In a word, the name of Hyperboreans seems to have been a vague appellation bestowed by the Greeks upon the northern nations which they did not know, and much more applicable to the Laplanders than the inhabitants of the western isles of Scotland.

This want of unanimity was the effect of their pride, levity, and ferocious diſpoſition. They were impatient of diſcipline and order, inconſtant in their purſuits, ſudden in their reſentments, and barbarous in their revenge.

Strangers to luxury, and even to what are now thought the neceſſaries of life, their wealth conſiſted in their herds of cattle, which they drove from place to place for the convenience of paſture, like the antient Nomades: as for the tin, lead, iron, corn, ivory bridles, collars, amber, glaſs veſſels, baſkets, and other toys, which were exported from Britain, they were manufactured by the Belgæ, and other nations who ſettled in the maritime parts of the iſland: the inland inhabitants dealt in nothing but cattle, hides, and tallow, which they bartered for ſuch things as they deemed indiſpenſably neceſſary; they lived in wretched huts or cabbins made of boughs, and plaſtered with mud; and even in theſe they found means to manifeſt their hoſpitality to ſtrangers, whom they eſteemed as ſacred and inviolable. Their diet was ſimple and parſimonious; their food conſiſted chiefly of milk and veniſon; their ordinary drink was water; yet, upon extraordinary occaſions, they indulged themſelves with a kind of fermented liquor made of barley, honey, or apples; and when intoxicated, never failed to quarrel, like the antient Thracians. Diod. l. 5.

They were taller, though leſs robuſt, than the Gauls; yet their conſtitutions were inured to hardſhip and fatigue; and their longevity was the immediate effect of their temperance. The dreſs of their nobles conſiſted of a belted plaid of variegated colours, with trouſers that anſwered the purpoſes of ſtockings as well as breeches; and theſe were common to all the Gauls upon the continent: ſome of thoſe who could not afford to purchaſe this habit, covered themſelves with ſkins, and the poorer ſort Plutarch de Plaut. Philoſoph.

went almoſt naked. Perhaps it was in conſequence of this want of covering, that they had recourſe to the practice of painting their bodies with a ſubſtance that ſhut up the pores, and defended the nerves of the ſkin from the inclemencies of the weather: thus fortified, Dio Nicæus tells us, they could endure the ſevereſt cold, and even remain whole days immerſed in mud. They were poorly provided with warlike weapons, either for annoyance or defence: the better ſort uſed the broad ſword and dagger, together with javelins and arrows; but the common people had no other offenſive arms than ſharpened ſticks for javelins, and long ſtaves edged with flint, or headed with copper, in lieu of halberts, which were likewiſe furniſhed with a kind of bell to ſcare their enemies in battle. They had neither coats of mail nor helmets, but defended themſelves with light round targets of wood, or twigs covered with leather and ſtudded with nails of braſs. The only finery which they affected, was in their chariots of war, which were curiouſly carved and painted, and ſo contrived as to be ſtopped and turned on the declivity of hills, with aſtoniſhing dexterity: they were generally drawn by two horſes; and each contained the driver and a ſingle warrior, who darted his javelins at the enemy, and even drove among their thickeſt ranks, terrifying, trampling, and cutting them in pieces with long ſcythes fixed to the axletree of the wheels. They frequently leaped from their chariots, and fought on foot, until being fatigued or overpowered, they reſumed their ſeats; and they were ſo expert in the management of thoſe machines, that they could ſtop or turn them at full ſpeed, ſit, ſtand, run upon the beam, and leap out and in, as the occaſion required. They often retreated on purpoſe to draw the enemy into confuſion, and then returned to the attack with redoubled fury; but, they always

Tacit. Vit. Agricol.

Frontinus de Stratagem.

always engaged in ſeparate bodies, that they might have room to act, and ſuſtain thoſe that wanted ſuccour. The Britons, as well as the Gauls, were remarkably bold and enterpriſing; they charged with ſurpriſing impetuoſity: after having endeavoured to intimidate the foe with the hoarſe and diſmal ſound of their barbarous trumpets, repeated ſhouts, and the claſhing of their arms, they advanced to battle, dancing like the Curetes, and ſinging the valiant deeds of their anceſtors. They were war- Diod. l. 1.
like, even in their favourite diverſion, which was hunting; and, for this reaſon, their princes and chiefs commonly fixed their habitations in the midſt of woods and foreſts, frequented by the game; and, indeed, this was the ſituation of all their towns, which were compoſed of miſerable huts, built in ſpots cleared of wood, which ſerved them as a fortification; for they were almoſt always at war with one another, or with the colonies of the Belgæ, and other nations, which they could never forgive for their intruſion. This enmity may have become more rancorous after they were invaded by Divitiacus, king of the Sueſſones, who being in great credit with the whole body of the Belgæ, reſolved to make their friendſhip ſubſervient to his ambition, and conquer the iſland of Britain by their aſſiſtance. For this purpoſe, he, about five and twenty years before Cæſar's expedition, aſſembled a great army of his own ſubjects, reinforced by the Bibroci, the Atrebates, and other Belgic nations adjoining to his own territories; and paſſing over into Britain, defeated the natives in ſeveral encounters. He ſubdued the countries at preſent known by the names of Berks, Oxford, Hants, Wilts, Somerſet, and Suſſex; in which he planted colonies of his Belgian auxiliaries, after having expelled the Regni and other tribes of the old inhabitants. The Belgæ, who were already ſettled in Britain, probably ſub-

mitted and joined him on this occaſion; a circumſtance that could not fail to render them ſtill more odious to the native iſlanders. Theſe unintermitting hoſtilities kept up their martial diſpoſition and contempt of danger, which was not confined to the male ſex, but ſhone ſo remarkably in the Britiſh women, that they often ruſhed into battle, and braved the weapons of the enemy. They always attended their huſbands in the field, encouraging them to deeds of glory: no war was undertaken without their advice; they judged of the contraventions of public treaties; they ſat in council, and were conſulted on the moſt important occaſions.

Plutarch de virtute mulierum.

Had the Britons, ſuch as we have deſcribed them, brave, honeſt, and ingenious, been united under one well regulated government, which would have bridled their ferocity, reconciled them to ſubordination, and provided for the ſafety of the ſtate; in all probability they would have preſerved their freedom and independency againſt the whole Roman power: but, there was a fatal defect in their conſtitution, ariſing from the vaſt number of petty ſovereignties, ruled by their own particular Reguli, who could not be eaſily brought to act in concert againſt the common enemy. True it is, a number of theſe little principalities had already united together into conſiderable ſtates, either ruled by kings, as the Cattieuchlani, Iceni, and Brigantes; or commanded by a general occaſionally elected, as the Silures and Ordovices: but thoſe that lived remote from the danger do not ſeem to have been affected by the fate of their countrymen who were attacked, or to have favoured them with the leaſt aſſiſtance, except the Ordovices, who acted in behalf of their neighbours the Silures.

Their want of unanimity.

Beſides, they were very ill ſupplied with arms, deſtitute of money and warlike ſtores, and ignorant of

diſcipline, and neceſſaries of war.

of diſcipline and military experience: they lived in a level open country, without incloſure, or any place of rendezvous or retreat, except their impenetrable woods, and inacceſſible bogs and mountains in the northern parts of the iſland; in a word, they were unfurniſhed of all means of defence, except their native courage and love of liberty. In this naked ſituation they were alarmed with the news of an invaſion, and ſummoned to make head againſt the Roman power, commanded and directed by the greateſt general that ever lived, who had already triumphed over prodigious armies of Germans and Gauls, acknowledged to be the moſt powerful nations in Europe, with a body of veteran troops that were deemed invincible.

Julius Cæſar having conquered Gaul, and ſeverely chaſtiſed the Germans, who had croſſed the Rhine, in order to favour a general revolt and inſurrection of their neighbours, reſolved to make a deſcent upon the iſland of Britain, which was almoſt altogether unknown to the Romans. His pretence was to puniſh the iſlanders, for having ſent ſuccours to the Gauls while he waged war againſt that nation, as well as for granting an aſylum to the Belgæ, after having excited them to a rebellion, in conſequence of which they were routed, and compelled to abandon their own country. Theſe were ſufficient motives in a Roman general, conſidering the political maxims of that people, who always looked upon the auxiliaries of their enemies as principals in the quarrel, and attacked them accordingly, without any declaration of war, concerning which they were in other caſes extremely formal and punctilious. Over and above theſe inducements, ſome authors ſuppoſe Cæſar to have been influenced by the hopes of finding a great quantity of fine Britiſh pearls, which were then much in requeſt. But avarice was no part of his character; and we may

Julius Cæſar reſolves to invade Britain.

Suetonius.

with more plauſibility ſuppoſe, he was, on this occaſion, actuated by that ambition and thirſt of glory which ſeems to have been the characteriſtic of his diſpoſition.

Whatever the true dictates of his heart may have been, he determined to employ the latter part of the ſummer, that remained after his German expedition, in an hoſtile viſit to Britain; and though he ſhould find the ſeaſon too far advanced to make any progreſs in the operations of war, he foreſaw advantage in making himſelf acquainted with the coaſt, creeks, and harbours, as well as with the genius of the inhabitants, which were very little known, even to the traders who went thither on account of commerce. With this view he previouſly conſulted the merchants, who could give him no ſatisfaction touching the ſize of the iſland, the number of nations by whom it was poſſeſſed, their laws and cuſtoms, their practice in war, or their harbours, that were capable of containing a great number of large veſſels. Thus left to his own conjectures, he detached C. Voluſenus in a frigate to examine the coaſt, and return as ſoon as poſſible with his report; while he himſelf advanced, with all his forces, into the territory of the Morini, which lay neareſt to the Britiſh ſhore; and here he ordered that all his ſhips ſhould be aſſembled, without delay.

Mean while, his deſign being communicated by ſome merchants to the inhabitants of the maritime parts of Britain, chiefly thoſe who had removed thither from the oppoſite continent, they ſent ambaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſion, and promiſed to deliver hoſtages for their good behaviour. Cæſar received them with great complacency; and having exhorted them to continue ſtedfaſt in the ſame ſentiments, diſmiſſed them to their own country, together with a Britiſh prince, called Comius, whom he

he had appointed king over the Atrebates, and of whoſe attachment and ſagacity he was well aſſured. Knowing this Comius was held in great veneration and eſteem in Britain, he directed him to viſit the different ſtates, and uſe his influence in perſuading them to ſolicit the protection of the Romans, which he would grant on his arrival in the iſland. As for Voluſenus, he returned in five days from the coaſt of Britain, which he had examined from the ſea, without daring to land on ſuch an hoſtile ſhore; and imparted his obſervations to Cæſar, who formed his plan accordingly.

Having collected about eighty tranſports, which he judged ſufficient for the embarkation of two legions, and allotted for his cavalry eighteen of a larger burthen, that were wind-bound on another part of the coaſt, at the diſtance of eight miles, he diſtributed his officers on board of a few gallies, ordered the reſt of his army to be cantoned among the Menapii and part of the Morini, under the conduct of Q. Titurius Sabinus, and L. Aurunculeius Cotta, and left P. Sulpicius Rufus, with a ſufficient garriſon, to occupy the place and harbour where he now lay.

Theſe precautions being taken, and all the troops deſtined for the expedition embarked, he ſet ſail with the firſt fair wind about midnight: and next morning arrived on the coaſt of Britain, where he ſaw the rocks and cliffs covered with an infinite number of armed iſlanders, aſſembled to oppoſe his landing. Finding it impracticable to gain the ſhore in that place, on account of the ſwelling ſurf and the impending mountains, from whence his ſoldiers muſt have been grievouſly annoyed by the Britons, he reſolved to chooſe a more favourable ſtrand, for making his deſcent. Mean while, as he lay at anchor to wait for that part of the fleet which had not yet arrived, he called a council of his officers, to whom he imparted the remarks of Voluſenus, together

Cæſar embarks with his forces. Ante C. 55.

Ante C. 55. together with his diſpoſition for landing, and the preciſe order by which every individual was to act in his own province; then taking the firſt opportunity of the wind and tide, he made the ſignal for weighing anchor, and ſailed about eight miles alongſhore, till he found an open road and level country.

The Britons, ſuſpecting his deſign, detached their cavalry and chariots of war to the ſame ſpot, and following with the reſt of their forces, took poſſeſſion of the ground in ſuch a manner, as to hinder the Romans from approaching the ſhore; for, as their ſhips drew too much water to float near the beach, the ſoldiers were obliged to leap overboard; when, being encumbered with the weight of their armour, intangled in the ſea, and expoſed to the riſque of plunging into unknown holes and caverns under water, they did not fight with their uſual alacrity, but ſeemed affrighted at the fury and reſolution of the iſlanders, who not only galled them with their javelins from the ſhore, but even ruſhed upon them in the ſea, fighting hand to hand with amazing vigour and intrepidity.

Cæſar, perceiving the diſadvantage under which his ſoldiers laboured, directed his gallies to be rowed nearer to the ſhore, ſo as to flank the Britons, againſt whom the ſlings, arrows, and projectile machines were plyed with great execution and ſucceſs; for, the iſlanders, as much confounded and intimidated at the ſtrange figure of the gallies, the motion of the oars, and the contrivance of the baliſtæ, as at the damage they ſuſtained from the ſtones and miſſile weapons, ſuddenly pauſed, and then retired to a ſmall diſtance. Notwithſtanding this check the Romans ſeemed averſe to truſt themſelves in ſuch a depth of water, when the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion obſerving their backwardneſs, leaped into the ſea, calling aloud, "Follow me, my fellow-"ſoldiers, unleſs you want to betray the eagle into "the hands of the enemy." Thus adjured, they

ſprung

ſprung overboard without further heſitation, and made towards the ſhore, where being met by the enemy, a very obſtinate battle enſued, which had like to have proved fatal to the Romans, who finding it impoſſible to form in the water, could not avail themſelves of their diſcipline and military ſkill, while thoſe who gained the ſhore were ſurrounded and cut in pieces, before they could aſſemble in any number, or be drawn up in order of battle. Ante C. 55.

In this emergency, Cæſar commanded the boats belonging to the fleet to be crammed with ſoldiers, in order to row about and ſuſtain thoſe who wanted ſuccour; and this expedient determined the fortune of the day, by enabling his men to gain firm footing on the beach, where, forming immediately in a conſiderable body, they proceeded to charge with their uſual confidence; and now profiting by that heavy armour which had encumbered them before, they ſoon compelled the naked Britons to quit the field with precipitation; though Cæſar could not improve his victory for want of his horſe, which were not yet arrived *. The Britons, diſpirited by Lands in Britain, and defeats the natives. Cæſar Com. Strabo. Dio.

* This deſcent was made from the Downes, and the battle fought at the place which is now called Deal, as Cæſar's own account of the expedition plainly evinces; for, the land he firſt made could be no other than Dover, which is nearer than any other part of Britain to the Gallican ſhore; and he deſcribes the cliffs with great accuracy. From thence he ſailed with the tide ſetting to the northward, and turning a point of land, which was the ſouth foreland, came to an anchor in the Downes, after a progreſs of eight miles. The diſtance from Dover, the headland he turned, the flatneſs of the beach, and the openneſs of the country, leave no room to ſuſpect that the place of his landing could be any other than Deal. This ſuppoſition is confirmed by the tradition of the Britons as well as of the Saxons, who mentioned the circumſtance in a table hung up in Dover caſtle. This opinion is likewiſe embraced by Nennius, who ſays Cæſar ad Dole bellum pugnavit; and Camden obſerved in this place, the remains of the ramparts which Cæſar raiſed to defend the ſhipping from the aſſaults of the weather and the enemy.

The day of his landing was the 26th of Auguſt in the afternoon, as the learned Hally has demonſtrated from the circumſtances of the hiſtory, and the ebbing and flowing of the tides. Philoſoph. tranſ. N°. 193.

this

Ante C. 55. this defeat, no ſooner recollected themſelves from their conſternation, than they ſent ambaſſadors to implore the clemency of Cæſar, and along with them Comius the Atrebatian, whom, as a creature of the Roman general, they had ſeized and ſhackled on his firſt landing, before he had an opportunity of ſignifying the cauſe of his arrival. But now that they were vanquiſhed in battle, they aſcribed this outrage to the fury of the ungovernable multitude; begged pardon for the offence, promiſed to deliver hoſtages, and in all things to obey his commands.

Cæſar complained, that after having of their own accord ſent ambaſſadors to the continent, with offers of peace and ſubmiſſion, they had nevertheleſs oppoſed his landing in ſuch an hoſtile manner: but he forgave their indiſcretion, and demanded a certain number of hoſtages; part of whom they immediately delivered, and promiſed to ſend for the reſt with all convenient diſpatch from the remoter provinces. Mean while they diſmiſſed their troops, and their princes and lords aſſembling, recommended themſelves, and their different ſtates to the protection of Cæſar: though this ſubmiſſion ſeems to have been extorted by the neceſſity of the occaſion; for, they afterwards renounced it with the firſt opportunity.

His ſhips are deſtroyed by a tempeſt.

Their ſeſſion was not yet broke up, when the eighteen ſhips, with the Roman cavalry ſailing from Gaul with a gentle breeze, no ſooner approached the Britiſh coaſt, than they were diſperſed by a terrible tempeſt of wind blowing off the ſhore, and obliged to return to the port they had left, at which they arrived with great difficulty, after having narrowly eſcaped the horrors of ſhipwreck. This ſtorm, which happened at the full moon, was attended with ſuch an high tide, that in the night all the gallies which the Romans had hauled aſhore for ſafety, were filled with water; while of thoſe which rode

rode at anchor, ſome ran foul of one another and were deſtroyed, and the reſt were rendered uſeleſs by the loſs of their anchors, cables, maſts, and rigging: a miſerable ſpectacle to the army on ſhore, who could give them no aſſiſtance; and having no materials for refitting the damaged veſſels, ſaw themſelves deprived of the means of returning to Gaul, and deſtitute of proviſion on which they could ſubſiſt through the winter in Britain. Ante C. 55.

The iſland chiefs, who had not yet ſeparated, reſolved to take the advantage of this calamity, by which they ſaw the Romans diſpirited: they conferred with each other upon this opportunity which fortune had put in their power; they repined at the loſs of their liberty; upbraided themſelves with their infamouſly tame ſubmiſſion to an handful of enemies, without cavalry, ſubſiſtence, or ſhips to which they might retire: they looked upon their invaders as victims devoted to deſtruction, and determined to ſacrifice them to the genius of their country. In theſe ſentiments they gradually diſappeared from the Roman camp, and began privately to reaſſemble their forces; while Cæſar ſuſpecting their deſign, as the natural conſequence of what had happened, as alſo from their delaying to ſend in the reſt of the hoſtages, began to make preparations for his own ſafety. He ordered all the corn and proviſion in the neighbourhood to be brought into the camp, diſpatched a veſſel to the continent for materials to repair the ſhipping; and this work his men undertook with ſuch ardour, that in a little time the whole fleet was rendered fit for ſervice, except twelve ſhips that periſhed in the ſtorm.

The Britons attack the ſeventh legion.

During theſe tranſactions, the ſeventh legion being ſent out as uſual to forage, at a time when the peace lately concluded was ſuppoſed to be in full force, and the Roman camp was openly frequented by the

Ante C. 55. Britons, the ſentinels perceived a greater cloud of duſt than could poſſibly ariſe from the legion that went forth, and communicated this obſervation to Cæſar, who immediately ſuſpecting ſome new attempt of the iſlanders, marched out at the head of the cohorts that were upon duty, after having ordered other bands to take their ſtation; and the reſt of the army to follow him with the utmoſt expedition: when he had advanced a good way from the camp, he found the ſeventh legion hard preſſed by the enemy, who concluding they would naturally come to this place, as here only the corn was not yet reaped, had formed an ambuſcade in the woods, from which they ſuddenly fell upon the Romans, when they were diſperſed and unarmed, ſo as to cut off a few, and diſorder the reſt, who could hardly reſiſt the attacks of ſuch a furious multitude as ſurrounded them; for the Britons not only ſhowered their darts and javelins at a diſtance, but likewiſe drove among them with their chariots of war, by which they were greatly diſtreſſed. They were, therefore, very ſeaſonably relieved by their general, at whoſe arrival the enemy intermitted in their action. Cæſar judging it improper to provoke them to a general engagement, kept his ground for ſome time, in order of battle, and then retreated to his camp, in which he was confined for ſeveral days by tempeſtuous weather. But, this did not hinder the Britons from diſpatching meſſengers to all parts of the country, with accounts of the ſmall number and dejection of the Romans, in conſequence of which they aſſembled from different quarters to an immenſe number of horſe and foot, and boldly advanced towards the enemy's intrenchments.

Cæſar, far from baulking their impatience, marched out to meet and give them battle, when they were quickly routed with great ſlaughter, and all their

their habitations for a considerable circuit set on fire and destroyed. That same day they sent deputies to supplicate the mercy of the Roman commander, who granted them peace, on condition that they should send to the continent double the number of the hostages he at first demanded; and now that the autumnal æquinox approached, and his ships were unfit for a winter voyage, he forthwith re-embarked his army and returned to Gaul. Ante C. 55. Cæsar returns to Gaul.

Such was the success of the first attempt the Romans made on the liberty of Britain, which was defended by the natives with all that spirit and enthusiasm which freedom and independency inspire; and thus ended that celebrated expedition of Cæsar, which though unattended with any other solid advantage than that of making him acquainted with the coast of the island, and the temper of the inhabitants, was extolled at Rome above all the victories he had obtained over the Germans and the Gauls, and his success in Britain acknowledged by a supplication of twenty days. Although this was an extravagant and ridiculous decree of the senate, considering the little progress he had made in his first descent, it is at least a glorious testimony of the opinion which the Romans, in the meridian of all their power and glory, entertained with regard to the valour of our ancestors; nevertheless we cannot assent to the overweening conjectures of those who, from an illiberal partiality to their own country, pretend, that Cæsar was actually defeated by the Britons; whereas it appears they were utterly unable to cope with him in the field, even when they had an immense superiority in point of number; that the small advantage they gained over the seventh legion was the effect of surprize; and that his sudden return to the continent in such a shattered condition, did not so much denote his apprehension of the islanders, as his dread of a winter passage in crazy

Ante C. 55. crazy veſſels which had ſuffered in the ſtorm. Had he thought himſelf too weak to ſubdue the Britiſh power by the force of his arms, he would probably have had recourſe to other arts, and endeavoured to foment diviſions among the different ſtates in the land; an expedient which could hardly have miſcarried, as they were ill affected to one another, and he could eaſily have found emiſſaries who would have gladly followed his inſtructions: it muſt be owned, however, that on this occaſion they united for their common ſafety, and even the Belgian colonies acted in concert with the antient natives of the iſland.

The Britons no ſooner ſaw themſelves delivered from ſuch troubleſome viſitants, than they ſeemed to forget the ſubmiſſions and promiſes they had made, and two only of their ſtates ſent over the ſtipulated hoſtages to Cæſar, who, in all appearance, was not much incenſed at their neglect, inaſmuch as it furniſhed him with a ſpecious pretext for returning to Britain, and reducing the whole iſland under the Roman dominion. Mean while, having put his army into quarters, he ſet out for Italy, but not before he had given orders and directions for refitting the damaged ſhips, and building a great number of other veſſels of various conſtruction, for the greater convenience of tranſporting his legions and cavalry, as well as of floating in ſhallow water, that they might be landed with equal eaſe and ſafety: they were broad flat-bottomed boats, managed with oars, calculated for lying cloſe to the beach, and plying againſt the current of the tides. Theſe orders being executed during the winter, under the inſpection of his lieutenants; and maſts, cables, anchors, and rigging, fetched from Spain, he returned to the army in Gaul, where he found ſix hundred tranſports and twenty-eight gallies ready to put to ſea; and theſe he aſſembled at the

Prepares for another deſcent.

the port of Itium, (ſuppoſed to be Vitſand,) at the diſtance of thirty miles from the Britiſh coaſt. Ante C. 54.

But, his departure was delayed by a commotion among the Triviri, who were ſaid to have engaged with the Germans, in ſome intrigues againſt the Roman government. Cæſar marching into their territories, at the head of four legions and eight hundred horſe, confirmed Cingetorix in the magiſtracy, received the ſubmiſſion of the ſtate, and carried off two hundred hoſtages, including the ſons and kindred of Idutiomarus, who was a turbulent man, and at the head of a great faction. Nor were theſe the only pledges he demanded for the peaceable behaviour of the Gauls in his abſence: when he returned to Itium, he convened the cavalry of Gaul, and all the chiefs, except a very few in whoſe attachment he could confide, reſolving they ſhould accompany him in his expedition. Among theſe was Dumnorix the Æduan, who either dreading the dangers of the ſea, or intending to raiſe a rebellion after Cæſar's departure, earneſtly deſired to be excuſed from the voyage, and finding Cæſar inflexible, withdrew in the night with the Æduan cavalry; but being purſued and overtaken by Cæſar's troops, he refuſed to return or ſubmit; and fell fighting with great gallantry, calling aloud, with his lateſt breath, that he was "a free born "Gaul, native of a free nation, and that he would "not be enſlaved." Reduces the Triviri.

As for the Æduan cavalry, which had accompanied him in his retreat, they returned to Cæſar, who, about the beginning of Auguſt, leaving Labienus at Itium with three legions and two thouſand horſe, in order to be a check upon the Gauls, and provide corn for the Britiſh expedition, ſet ſail at ſun-ſet with five legions, and the ſame number of cavalry he had left behind, his fleet conſiſting of eight hundred veſſels; and next day at noon arrived Makes another deſcent on Britain.

Ante C. 55. at the place of his former deſcent, where he landed without oppoſition. There was not one Briton to be ſeen on that part of the coaſt: but he afterwards underſtood from the priſoners, that the iſlanders, appriſed of his intent, had aſſembled an army, and marched down to the ſea-ſide to oppoſe his diſembarkation, when ſeeing the whole channel covered as it were with ſhips, they were ſtruck with conſternation, and retreated to their lurking-places.

Cæſ. de Bell. Gallic. l. 5. The army being landed, and the ground marked out for the camp, Cæſar provided himſelf with guides, and leaving ten cohorts and three hundred horſe, under the command of Q. Atrius, to guard the ſhips which lay at anchor in the Downes, he began his march in queſt of the Britons. Having advanced about twelve miles he came in ſight of their army encamped near a river, the paſſage of which they diſputed with their cavalry and chariots; but theſe being repulſed by the Romans, they retreated to a wood, in the midſt of which there was a kind of fortification raiſed with felled timber.

Ante C. 54. Here they poſted themſelves as in an impregnable fortreſs: but they were ſoon diſlodged by the tenth legion, and betook themſelves to flight in the utmoſt confuſion; though Cæſar would not allow his horſe to purſue them through an unknown country, eſpecially as the day was far advanced, and he had not yet fortified his camp at the landing-place. In the morning however, he ſent detachments of cavalry and infantry in purſuit of the fugitives; yet they were ſoon recalled, in conſequence of a meſſage from Q. Atrius, giving him to underſtand that the fleet had received great damage from a furious tempeſt, which had blown with ſuch violence, that the anchors could not hold, and a number of ſhips were ſhattered and caſt aſhore. He forthwith marched down to the ſea-ſide, where he learned the particulars of his loſs, and found that forty ſhips were

were utterly deſtroyed: in order to repair the reſt, he called all the carpenters from the legions, and in a letter to Labienus, deſired that all his workmen might be employed in building a number of new veſſels. Mean while he ordered the ſhips to be hauled aſhore, and fortified with the ſame trench and rampart that ſurrounded his camp. Ante C. 54.

This ſtupendous work being finiſhed in ten days, with infinite labour, he appointed a proper guard or garriſon for its defence, and put his troops again in motion againſt the Britons, whom he found in the ſame place they had before occupied, to an incredible number. By this time their common danger had induced them to forget, or at leaſt ſuppreſs their former feuds and animoſities, and unite their whole ſtrength for the mutual defence of their liberty and poſſeſſions. They had convened a general council of all their ſtates and dynaſties, in order to deliberate on the emergency of their affairs; and foreſeeing nothing but confuſion and anarchy would prevail in an army compoſed of independent chiefs that owned no ſuperior, and knew no ſubordination, they unanimouſly conferred a dictatorial power upon Caſſivellaunus, whoſe territories (comprehending Hertfordſhire, Bedfordſhire, and Bucks) were divided from the maritime ſtates by the river Thames. This prince had been formerly engaged in continual wars with his neighbours, and acquired ſuch reputation in military ſkill, that they now deemed him worthy of being inveſted with the ſovereign command; though this was a very dangerous experiment, which nothing could juſtify but their dangerous ſituation. They had no ſooner raiſed him to this preheminence, then they reſolved to ſtrengthen his hands with ſuch power as ſhould enable him to act up to the importance of his ſtation; and immediately armed and aſſembled their vaſſals ſo as to compoſe a very numerous and formidable

The Britons unite under Caſſivellaunus.

Ante C. 54. army, with which Caſſivellaunus took poſſeſſion of the poſt from whence the Britons had been lately diſlodged.

The firſt act of his imperatorial power was to detach his cavalry and chariots to harraſs the Romans on their march; and this ſervice they performed with great intrepidity, falling upon the enemy's horſe; which however obliged them to give way and abſcond among the woods and mountains, where, being acquainted with the ground, they rallied, attacked, and cut in pieces ſome ſtraggling Romans, who were too eager in the purſuit. Not ſatisfied with having made this undaunted effort, they afterwards ruſhed ſuddenly and unexpectedly from the woods, while the enemy were employed in fortifying their camp, and charged the grand guard with ſuch impetuoſity, that Cæſar was obliged to ſend a ſtrong body to ſuſtain them; even then the courageous Britons forced their way through the intervals of the cohorts, and cutting their paſſage back again, retreated to their thicket, after having killed a number of Romans, and among the reſt, the tribune Quintus Laberius Durus.

Cæſar's legions, inured as they were to danger, and familiar with death, could not help manifeſting their terror, at the headlong and almoſt irreſiſtible attacks of the Britons, and the ſtrange novelty in their manner of fighting, which gave them a great advantage over heavy-armed infantry, who could not pretend to purſue them when they gave way, and durſt not break their ranks or abandon their ſtandards. Nor could the Roman cavalry fight them upon equal terms; for, they frequently retreated in ſeeming diſorder, to decoy them into the purſuit; and when they were at too great a diſtance from the legions to be properly ſuſtained, they leaped from their chariots, and aſſailed them on foot: thus the danger was the ſame to the cavalry,

valry, whether they retreated or purſued. Beſides, our iſlanders never engaged in great numbers, but fought in ſmall bodies, diſpoſed in diſtinct ſtations, with large intervals between them, that they might ſupport one another occaſionally, and thoſe that were fatigued might be relieved with freſh reinforcements. Ante C. 54.

On the day after this obſtinate action, they ſhewed themſelves at a diſtance upon the hills, without manifeſting their former eagerneſs and alacrity in provoking the Romans to battle; but, at noon, when Cæſar detached three legions, with all the cavalry, to forage under the command of C. Trebonius; they ſuddenly poured upon the foragers from all quarters, and even charged the legions as they ſtood in order of battle: but, they were immediately repulſed with great loſs. They were no ſooner put in diſorder than the horſe fell in upon them with ſuch precipitation, as left them no time to rally, form, or avail themſelves of their chariots; ſo that they were entirely routed with great ſlaughter. The auxiliaries who had joined them from different corners of the iſland, being diſpirited by ſuch a ſeries of defeats, took the firſt opportunity of returning to their own diſtricts; and after this period the Britons never hazarded a pitched battle with the army of Cæſar. They are routed with great ſlaughter.

This politic commander, appriſed of the retreat of the auxiliaries, reſolved to penetrate into the confines of Caſſivellaunus, by croſſing the river Thames at Coway near the Oatlands, where alone it was ſaid to be fordable by infantry. When he arrived at this place, he found a great body of the Britons poſted on the oppoſite bank, which they had fortified with ſharpened paliſadoes: they had likewiſe driven ſtakes of the ſame kind in the channel of the river, ſo as not to appear above the ſurface; a circumſtance of which Cæſar was inform- Cæſar croſſes the Thames, and penetrates into the territories of Caſſivellaunus,

Ante C. 54. ed by the priſoners and deſerters. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtructions, he ordered his horſe to ford the river, and the foot to follow without loſs of time. They plunged into the ſtream, and proceeded with ſuch celerity, even when up to their chins in water, that the enemy being ſtruck with conſternation could not ſuſtain the firſt ſhock, but abandoning their works, conſulted their ſafety in a precipitate retreat.

Caſſivellaunus having by this time reſigned all hope of ſucceſs in regular engagements, diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his troops, retaining about four thouſand charioteers, with whom he watched the motions of the Romans; and being perfectly well acquainted with the country through which they marched, attacked them occaſionally, when diſperſed in foraging, or entangled in woods and narrow paſſes, to the great danger of the cavalry, who durſt not venture to reconnoitre the road, or make excurſions to any diſtance from the legions.

While Cæſar laid waſte the country with fire and ſword, he received an embaſſy from the Trinobantes, a powerful people, inhabiting Middleſex and Eſſex, who promiſed to yield him obedience and ſubmiſſion, and requeſted that he would ſend their own prince Mandubratius to aſſume the regal authority among them, and protect him from the malice of Caſſivellaunus, who had killed his father Imanuentius. The young prince had eſcaped his parent's fate, by flying into Gaul, and craving the protection of Cæſar, who now reſtored him to his ſubjects, after having obliged them to deliver forty hoſtages, and provided corn for the army *.

Their example was immediately followed by ſeveral other ſtates of the Belgic Britons, who ſeeing

* Theſe were the Ceni-magni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bebraci, and Caſſi, inhabiting Surry, Hampſhire, Berks, Oxfordſhire, Bucks, and Hertfordſhire.

the

the Trinobantes protected from all military outrage, surrendered to the conqueror, and gave him to understand that he was but at a little distance from the chief town of Cassivellaunus, situated among woods and morasses, in which a great number of men and cattle was assembled. Thither he marched without further delay; and though he found the place strongly fortified, both by art and nature, resolved to assault it in two different quarters; but, the besieged being unable to stand the attack, betook themselves to flight from another part of the town, though numbers of them perished by the sword, and the booty fell into the hands of the Romans. Ante C. 54. whose capital he takes and plunders.

Cassivellaunus, thus hampered and distressed, sent orders to Cingetorix, Carnelius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, princes whose territories lay in Kent, Wilts, and Hampshire, to assemble all their forces privately, and surprise the naval camp of the Romans, while Cæsar was at too great a distance to succour the troops he had left on the seaside. But this enterprize did not succeed according to his expectation; for, when they approached the camp, the enemy made a vigorous sally, in which they killed a great number of the Britons, and took * Cingetorix prisoner. The bad success of this attempt made a deep impression upon the mind of Cassivellaunus, who seeing his dominions

* Otherwise called Lugotorix, prince of the river's bank, from Lug, liquor or water, Oto, a bank, and Rix, a prince or general. Baxter. Gloss. antiq.

By a letter from Cicero to Atticus, it appears that Cæsar landed in Gaul on the twenty-sixth of September; so that after having refitted his ships and fortified his naval camp in Britain, he could not have above twenty days left for his expedition against Cassivellaunus, whose territories were bounded by the Thames, at the distance of eighty miles from the sea, where the Romans landed. Cæsar seems to have marched by Lenham, Maidstone, Kestonheath, and Woodcoate, to Oatlands, and Goway-stakes, where he passed the river; and from thence he proceeded through the western parts of Middlesex to Verolam, or St. Alban's, near which Cassivellaunus submitted.

Ante C. 54. ravaged, his allies deſerting his cauſe, and his troops altogether unable to cope with ſuch a powerful enemy, by whom he had been ſo often defeated, he began to think, in good earneſt, of ſubmitting to the conqueror, to whom he communicated propoſals of peace by means of Comius the Atrebatian.

Makes peace with the Britiſh king.

Cæſar, being reſolved to paſs the winter on the continent, that he might be at hand to watch, and ſuppreſs the ſudden commotions of Gaul; and the ſummer being already almoſt elapſed, condeſcended to give peace to this Britiſh prince, after having exacted a number of hoſtages, impoſed a certain annual tribute to be paid by Britain to the Roman people, and laid ſtrong injunctions on Caſſivellaunus, to live in peace and friendſhip with Mandubratius and the Trinobantes. Peace being thus re-eſtabliſhed, he marched back with his hoſtages and a great number of priſoners to the ſea-ſide, where he ordered his ſhips to be launched; and his army being put on board at two different embarkations, landed ſafely on the continent a few days before the autumnal æquinox.

Cæſar de Bello Gallico, l. 5. Strabo, l. 4. Dio. l. 39. Sueton. in vit. Cæſ.

As he left no garriſon and made no ſettlement in Britain, in all probability the nations never paid the tribute ſtipulated in the pacification with Caſſivellaunus; or at leaſt it may be ſuppoſed that article was rejected by all the inhabitants, except the Belgic colonies, whoſe chief dependence being on trade, they durſt not refuſe to pay the impoſition, leſt their merchandize ſhould be ſeized by the Romans; ſo that it ſeems to have been rather a duty on commodities, than a general tribute, with which the natives could not be ſaddled by any treaty with Caſſivellaunus, whoſe ſovereignty many ſtates no longer acknowledged. Cæſar therefore reaped no other fruit from this conqueſt, than the glory of having carried the Roman arms beyond the ocean, into

into a country which was conſidered as an unknown land, divided in a manner from the whole world; unleſs we reckon, among the advantages accruing from this enterprize, a corſlet of Britiſh pearls, which he dedicated as an offering in the temple of Venus Genetrix, the ſuppoſed author of his family, and a long train of captives, whom he employed about the ſcenes and tapeſtry of the theatre, on which his Britiſh atchievements were repreſented *. Whether or not the Britons were punctual in fulfilling their engagements with Cæſar, cannot be determined from hiſtory; but probably the maritime ſettlements were regular in their payment of the tribute, which for that reaſon we may ſuppoſe to have been eaſily raiſed; for after the death of Julius Cæſar, the Britons lived in great tranquillity, without feeling the rod of arbitrary power, or the oppreſſive impoſitions of avaricious proconſuls, during the reigns of Auguſtus and his ſucceſſor. Not but that the former, in the ſixth year of his imperial dignity, when he croſſed the Alps to regulate the tribute impoſed upon the ſeveral nations of Gaul, formed the deſign of an expedition into Britain, with a view of ſubjecting the natives to the ſame regulations: but, the chiefs of the iſland being informed of his intent, found means to divert the ſtorm, by ſending a ſolemn embaſſy to ſue for peace, and preſent oblations to the capitol. The emperor having revolved the

Ante C. 54.

* The Britiſh ſlaves were alſo employed in carrying the emperor's ſedan, as appears by an old inſcription in the gardens of cardinal Carpenſo.

That the Romans did not look upon Cæſar's enterprize as an abſolute conqueſt of Britain, we learn from authors of the beſt authority. Tacitus ſays he did not conquer Britain, but only ſhewed it to the Romans.---Horace in the time of Auguſtus calls them Invictos Romano marte; and Lucan, who was indeed a profeſſed enemy to Julius Cæſar, ſcruples not to affirm, that he turned tail, in a fright, to the Britons, in queſt of whom he went with ſuch mighty preparations. Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis.

expence

Ante C. 54. expence of such an enterprize, judged it impolitic to exhaust so much treasure in the conquest of a remote people, who could never be in a capacity to attack the Romans in their own territories; especially as they already received greater sums from the duties laid upon British merchandize, than they could expect from a general tribute, after deducting the expence of troops and garrisons, which would in that case become necessary.

The Britons cultivate a peaceable correspondence with the Romans.

In consequence of these pacific maxims, the Britons lived in harmony with the Romans; and in the reign of Tiberius, when the fleet of Germanicus was dispersed in the German ocean, after his victory over Arminius, and a number of his ships were wrecked on the coasts of Britain, or forced to take shelter in the creeks and harbours of this island; the reguli or chiefs assisted, and relieved the distressed Romans with the utmost hospitality, and sent them back in safety to their general. These friendly dispositions were improved by a frequent intercourse between Britain and Rome, to which the British noblemen often resorted; and some of these for the benefit of education. The Roman merchants residing in Britain, together with the publicans and collectors of the revenue, soon grew familiarised to the temper, genius, and customs of the inhabitants, and enjoyed all the opportunities they could desire of making themselves acquainted with the nature and situation of the country, as well as with the strength, interests, dissensions, and political views of the different tribes that possessed the island. Thus the Romans became insensibly masters of Britain in speculation, and began to wonder that a country so well known, had not yet been reduced into a province: the interests of the state gave way to the prospect of ambition; and though they already enjoyed all the solid and truly desirable advantages of a conquest, in the voluntary

Strabo, l. 2.

and

and pacific ſubmiſſion of the natives, the epithet of Britannicus had irreſiſtible charms in the eyes of a weak, vain, arrogant, and worthleſs emperor, ſuch as Caius Caligula, who, in the extravagance of a freak, reſolved to invade Britain, and reſtore a prince of that iſland called Adminius, who had been expelled by his own father, and fled for refuge to Rome. That the reader may the more diſtantly underſtand this tranſaction, it will be neceſſary to explain the particulars of this expulſion. Cunobelin, the ſucceſſor of Caſſivellaunus, who lived in good coreſpondence with the Romans, and paid the tribute punctually, in pieces of coin ſtruck for that purpoſe, and inſcribed with the word Taſcia, extending his dominion over the Dobuni, inhabiting Glouceſterſhire and Oxfordſhire, and the Trinovantes, whoſe capital was, according to Ptolemy, called Camelodunum; beſides theſe he conquered ſeveral other tribes, and acquired ſuch acceſſion of territory, as rendered him the moſt powerful prince in the iſland. He had many ſons, three of whom are mentioned by the Roman hiſtorians, under the names of Adminius, Caratacus, and Togodumnus; and the firſt of theſe being appointed to preſide over the Trinovantes, even in the life-time of Cunobelin, miſbehaved in ſuch a manner, in the adminiſtration of his province, that he was depoſed, and exiled by his own father, from whoſe ſeverity he appealed to Caligula, and perſuaded that vainglorious emperor to undertake the entire conqueſt of Britain.

An. Ch. 16.

Caligula undertakes the conqueſt of Britain.

Camden.

Sueton.

For this purpoſe he aſſembled an army of two hundred thouſand fighting men, and marching into Germany againſt ſome of the ſtates of that country, which he propoſed to ſubdue before he ſhould embark for Britain, he repaſſed the Rhine without having ſeen the face of an enemy: Then he plundered Gaul, and directed his march to the ſea-ſide, where

His ridiculous expedition to the ſea-ſide.

An. Ch. 16. where he ordered his forces to be drawn up in order of battle. While they ſtood in this poſture, he took the air upon the ſea in a galley, and at his landing ordered a charge to be ſounded, and the ſignal to be made for engaging; but, no enemy appearing, he commanded the ſoldiers to gather cockle-ſhells, which were ſent with great ſolemnity to Rome, as the ſpoils of the ocean, and ſerved to adorn the ridiculous triumph which a ſervile ſenate decreed *.

Perhaps the ardour with which this cowardly emperor at firſt formed the reſolution of conquering Britain, was effectually cooled by the account he heard of the preparations which the iſlanders had made for his reception: certain it is, the puſillanimous conduct he manifeſted on this occaſion when at the head of ſuch an immenſe army, brought the Roman power into contempt with the warlike Britons; and this begat a careleſs ſecurity, in the midſt of which they were ſurpriſed and enſlaved by Claudius, after they had preſerved their liberty above ninety years, during the reigns of the firſt four emperors. In this period, however, they did not enjoy that tranquillity which they might have derived from the forbearance of the Romans; on the contrary, it afforded leiſure and opportunity to the different ſtates and chieftains to renew their former bickerings, and enabled the more powerful potentates to ſubdue the petty ſovereignties that lay contiguous to their dominions.

We have already obſerved that the Cattivellauni, a warlike clan of the antient inhabitants, had greatly extended their ſway over the Belgic-Britons, who

* Beſides this extravagant and deſpicable parade, his army was employed in nothing while he tarried on the coaſt, except in building a watch-tower or light-houſe as a beacon for ſhips at ſea; its firſt name Turris ardens was by the people of the country corrupted into Tour ordans, or Tour d'ordre; and Charlemagne repaired the building, which ſtill remains a noble monument of Roman antiquity. Bucker de Belg. l. 4.

were

were perhaps enervated by their correſpondence with the nations of the continent; particularly with the Romans, who bought up their commodities, and contributed more than all the reſt of the world to the ſupport of their trade, which they found too comfortable and advantageous to be riſqued in favour of a ſtarving independency. An. Ch. 16.

Theſe inteſtine diviſions rendered Britain an eaſy conqueſt to ſuch a powerful people as the Romans, who had long ago converted Gaul into a province, and thereby facilitated the expedition into this iſland, which nevertheleſs might have been poſtponed to a ſucceeding reign, conſidering the indolence and phlegmatic diſpoſition of Claudius, had not he been rouſed and ſtimulated by the exhortations and importunities of a Britiſh fugitive, of the name of Beric, a chieftain among the Dobuni of Dorſetſhire. This prince had been vanquiſhed and expelled by Caratacus and Togodumnus, who now ruled the Cattevellauni, as ſucceſſors of their deceaſed father Cunobelin. Claudius ſtimulated to the conqueſt of Britain by Beric, a Britiſh fugitive.

Claudius, thus daily inſtigated by the remonſtrances of the Britiſh exile, reinforced by his favourites, who flattered him with the proſpects of laurels and triumphs, reſolved to ſend over an army under the command of A. Plautius, a perſon of ſenatorial dignity, and of great experience and military ſkill. This officer was accordingly provided with troops and inſtructions, and ſet out on this important expedition. But, when he arrived at the ſea-ſide, his ſoldiers refuſed to embark for an iſland which they conſidered as another diſtinct world; and this refuſal, which ſeemed at firſt ſo unpromiſing, contributed in the event to the ſucceſs of the enterprize: for the Britons, being informed of the mutiny, intermitted in the meaſures they were taking to defend the coaſt; and afterwards, when the army of Plautius ſubmitted of their own accord Claudius ſends A. Plautius with an army into Britain.

to

An. Ch. 16. to the orders of their general, they made a deſcent on the iſland without oppoſition.

Caratacus and Togodumnus, foreſeeing the inſinuations of Beric at the court of Rome, had ſent thither ambaſſadors to juſtify their conduct, and deſire that fugitive might be ſent back, in order to be puniſhed for his perfidy and rebellion: but, he had anticipated their reſentment, and ſo artfully ingratiated himſelf with the emperor, that Claudius treated the deputies with inſolence and diſdain, refuſed to deliver the Dobunian, and in his turn demanded the arrears of the tribute impoſed by Julius Cæſar, which the Cattivellaunians had neglected to pay. This arrogant behaviour towards the ambaſſadors, incenſed Caratacus and his brother to ſuch a degree, that they not only rejected his propoſal about the tribute, but likewiſe ordered their ſubjects, on pain of incurring the ſevereſt penalties, to break off all correſpondence with the Romans.

In conſequence of ſuch an open rupture, they naturally expected an invaſion, and made preparations accordingly, which were now fruſtrated by their confidence in the mutiny of the Roman army, which was remarkably obſtinate and audacious; for, truſting to this obſtruction, which they deemed inſurmountable, the two Britiſh kings had withdrawn their forces into the interior parts of their dominions, leaving the coaſt open and defenceleſs.

Baxt. Gloſſ. Brit. He purſues the Britons, paſſes the Thames, and defeats Caratacus, and his brother Togodumnus, in three ſucceſſive battles.

Plautius, having landed in Kent, advanced by the ſame route which Cæſar had formerly taken, until he reached the Thames, which he paſſed at Wallingford; and in Oxfordſhire engaged both the brothers, whom he defeated in two pitched battles. Theſe victories were attended with the ſubmiſſion of the Dobuni, among whom having left a garriſon at Aldcheſter, he marched in purſuit of the Britons, who had retired behind the river Thames, which they deemed impaſſible. A party of Germans however,

however, swam across in their armour; and these were followed by a detachment of Romans, under the command of Fl. Vespasian, afterwards emperor, and his brother Sabinus, who fell upon the Britons with great fury, and obliged them to retreat, after having killed a great number of their horse and charioteers. Far from being dispirited by this check, they next day charged the Romans with such intrepidity, that victory continued for a long time doubtful, and was at last wrested from the Britons by the bravery of G. Sidius Geta, who, for his extraordinary prowess on this occasion, was complimented by the senate with the honours of a petty triumph, although he was an inferior officer. Caratacus, after this unsuccessful effort, retreated along the river Thames, as it runs towards the ocean: and crossed at a particular place, where it had overflowed its banks, and left behind a quantity of stagnating water. Here the Germans swam over as before; and Plautius passing with his legions at a bridge in the neighbourhood, a battle ensued, in which Togodumnus was slain, and the Britons routed with great slaughter *.

An. Ch. 16.

Dio. l. 60.

Plautius, having obtained four successive victories over the enemy, thought it was now high time to give the emperor notice of his proceedings, according to the instructions he had received, that he might have the honour of putting an end to the war in person. Claudius immediately embarked at Ostium in the latter end of July, for Marseilles, from whence he travelled by land to Boulogne, then known by the name of Gessoriacum, where he took shipping for the British coast, with a very considerable reinforcement, and landed safely at the Portus Rutupinus, now called Sandwich.

Claudius arrives in Britain;

* This event is supposed to have happened near the place now called the isle of Dogs, almost opposite to Greenwich, because the river is there fordable, and at no other place between that and the sea.

The

An. Ch. 16. The ſoldiers were no ſooner diſembarked, than he proceeded to the banks of the Thames, on which Plautius was encamped; and the armies being joined, croſſed the river in the face of the Britons, who bravely diſputed their paſſage. From hence the emperor advanced into the country of the Trinobantes, and took the capital Camulodunum, now called Malden in Eſſex.

takes Camulodunum,

reduces many petty ſtates to his obedience,

The fame of theſe exploits, and the terror of ſuch a numerous army, brought nations every day to his camp with offers of ſubmiſſion, eſpecially from the Belgic-Britons of that neighbourhood: but, none of the antient natives would give up their liberty, though the Iceni courted his friendſhip and were conſidered as allies: while Caratacus at the head of the Caſſivellauni, ſtill kept the field: in hope of ſeeing the Romans retire at the approach of winter.

is three times proclaimed Imperator by his army, and returns to Rome.

Claudius, having diſarmed thoſe that ſubmitted, and reduced many petty ſtates to his obedience by force of arms, was ſeveral times proclaimed Imperator by the ſoldiers; and the vanquiſhed were ſo touched with his generoſity in leaving them to enjoy their poſſeſſions, that they erected temples to him, and ranked him among their deities. Thus ſatiated with glory and ſucceſs, he left Plautius to finiſh the campaign, after he had ſtayed fifteen days in Britain, and at his return to Rome was honoured with a triumph and the ſurname of Britannicus: circumſtances that clearly demonſtrate the importance of ſuch an acceſſion to the Roman dominion *.

Suet. Claud. Dio. Caſſ. An. Ch. 43.

Plautius, in the character of proconſul or governor of Britain, proceeded in the conqueſt of thoſe

* About this period the iſlands of Orkneys were likewiſe added to the empire, by whom is uncertain; but the event is particularly celebrated in an inſcription dedicated to the honour of Claudius. Britannia Romana, p. 21.

ſtates

ſtates who ſtill refuſed to ſubmit: and while he himſelf carried on his operations chiefly againſt the inland, warlike, and original iſlanders, who lived among woods and mountains; Fl. Veſpaſian his ſecond or aſſeſſor was employed to reduce the maritime places occupied by the colonies of the Belgæ, who had ſettled the whole coaſt from the promontory of Kent to the Lands-end. The ſucceſs of this expedition was ſuch as might have been expected from the fortune, valour, and capacity of ſuch an experienced general. He defeated them in thirty battles, made himſelf maſter of the iſle of Wight, and ſubdued Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, and Somerſetſhire*, to the extremity of Cornwall; and in the courſe of this expedition, ſubjected the Belgæ and Durotriges, two of the moſt powerful Britiſh nations, who had adopted the manners of the old Britons, and lived among the woods and marſhes of Wilts, Dorſetſhire, and the Mendip-hills: where their youth were inured to hardſhip, in feeding, tending, and driving their cattle among the downs and foreſts: an honourable ſociety of herdſmen diſtinguiſhed by the name of Ceangi or Drovers. Theſe and many other ſtates were entirely reduced by the courage and ſagacity of Veſpaſian, who, at his return to Rome, was honoured with the conſulate and a triumph.

An. Ch. 43.

Veſpaſian ſignaliſes himſelf in the conqueſt of divers Britiſh nations.

Camden's Somerſet.

An. Ch. 52.

As for Plautius, he had to deal with † Caratacus, who was a prince of uncommon talents. He

* The many Roman encampments ſtill to be ſeen in the counties of Wilts, Dorſet, and Somerſetſhire, ſeem to be monuments of Veſpaſian's military glory, and ſome of them are actually declared by tradition to be the works of that general. -----With reſpect to the ſtory of his having been reſcued by the gallantry of his ſon Titus, when he was ſurrounded by the enemy in Britain, it muſt be a fable or miſtake, inaſmuch as Titus, who was born in the year forty-one, could not be above the age of ſeven or eight, at the period fixed for this noble act of filial piety. Carte, p. 103.

† His Britiſh name was Caradoc or Garatog, perhaps from Gearact, wiſe; and Tog, a general.

An. Ch. 51. was endowed with the moſt undaunted courage, and the moſt invincible fortitude; he was fraught with experience, which had ripened his judgment; patient in adverſity; cool, penetrating, and fruitful of expedients. Finding it impracticable to withſtand the arms and military diſcipline of the Romans in battle, he reſolved to hazard nothing but ſkirmiſhes, and theſe only when he had a manifeſt advantage of ground, or a great ſuperiority in number: thus he ſtill hovered about the ſkirts of the Roman army, which he occaſionally harraſſed with great ſucceſs; and his parties when overmatched retreated to mountains, fens and faſtneſſes unknown and inacceſſible to the enemy. Nevertheleſs, Plautius, by his vigilance, activity, and conduct, ſubdued the Dobuni, Ancalites, and Trinobantes, of Glouceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire, Middleſex, and Eſſex; and, when he returned to Rome, enjoyed the honours of an ovation.

Plautius ſubdues the Dobuni, and other warlike ſtates. An. Ch. 52. Dio. l. lx. Suet. Claud.

After his departure, the war was probably managed by the legates of the legions, for the ſpace of two years that intervened between the return of Plautius, and the arrival of P. Oſtorius Scapula, an active and experienced general, who was ſent over to the government of Britain, and found the affairs of his province in great confuſion. Though the ſeaſon for action was almoſt elapſed; yet, as the troops of Caratacus made continual incurſions into the Roman province, in hope that the new governor would not expoſe himſelf in a ſtrange country to the inconveniencies of a winter campaign, he forthwith aſſembled his troops, and taking the field againſt them, defeated all thoſe that hazarded an encounter. Then, with a view to defend the province from the continual inſults to which it was expoſed from ſuch reſtleſs neighbours, he reſolved to confine and reſtrain them by a chain of forts to be raiſed along the river Anton or Nen, in Nor-

He is ſucceeded in command by P. Oſtorius Scapula,

who ſettles a colony at Camulcdunum.

Northamptonſhire, and on the banks of the Severne; but before he began to execute this reſolution, he eſtabliſhed a Roman colony at Camulodunum or Malden; and London being ſettled much about the ſame time, the country between the Thames and the ſea was reduced into a province, under the name of Britannia prima. An. Ch. 52.

The Iceni, inhabiting Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeſhire, a powerful people, who had hitherto lived in amity with the Romans, were the firſt to oppoſe the deſign of the proconſul. They engaged in a confederacy with ſome of the neighbouring ſtates; and joining their forces took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt, which they fortified with looſe flints for annoying the feet of the Roman cavalry: notwithſtanding this precaution, they were attacked by Oſtorius, and their intrenchments forced, after they had made a deſperate reſiſtance. After this victory he took meaſures for ſecuring the province from any future incurſions of thoſe nations; and, in order to defend the Roman conqueſts on the ſide of the Severne, he allowed Cogidunus, king of the Dobuni, poſſeſſing the counties of Glouceſter and Oxford, to keep his principality, and even inveſted him with authority over ſome other Belgic colonies: a politic expedient, which ſucceeded to his wiſh, by fomenting the diſſenſions among the Britons, and attaching a powerful prince to the Roman intereſt, which he never abandoned in the ſequel. He defeats the Iceni. Tacit. Ann. xii.

Oſtorius, having made theſe prudent diſpoſitions, marched into the country of the Canges or Shropſhire, which he ravaged with fire and ſword, and penetrated almoſt to the ſea-coaſt of Denbighſhire, when he was recalled by the revolt of the Brigantes in Yorkſhire, whither he marched with great expedition; and having quelled the diſturbance, and quells a commotion among the Brigantes.

An.Ch. 52. puniſhed the ringleaders of the inſurrection with death*.

Theſe examples of ſeverity had no effect upon the Silures, inhabiting Herefordſhire and great part of South-Wales, the moſt powerful nation in the iſland, commanded by their king Caratacus, reckoned the moſt martial prince that Britain had ever produced. He retired to the Severne with the remains of his own forces, which he had ſo long employed unſucceſsfully againſt the invaders of his country; and found no great difficulty in perſuading the inhabitants to try their fortune in the ſame intereſting quarrel.

Marches againſt Caratacus, Oſtorius, being apprized of their ſtrength, thought proper to employ his legions in this expedition; and immediately began his march throughout Shropſhire, in order to attack them at once, and terminate the war by one deciſive blow. Caratacus, unwilling to bring the war into the country of the Silures, paſſed the river Teme, that divides Herefordſhire from Shropſhire; and being reinforced by a body of the Ordovices from different parts of Wales, took poſſeſſion of a very advantageous poſt, upon an inacceſſible mountain, waſhed by a deep and rapid ſtream†.

who is defeated. When he ſaw the enemy approaching, he drew up his army compoſed of different tribes, com-

* This inſurrection was not quelled before Oſtorius had routed the Brigantes in the field. There is a Roman encampment ſtill viſible on a moor between Littleborough and Doncaſter, near Hatfield foreſt, from which the troops of the Brigantes ſallied upon the Romans, and a battle enſued on the ſpot, where now ſtands the town of Oſtorfield, ſo denominated from the general who obtained the victory. Phil. Tranſ. n. 275.

† In all probability the Colun or Clun that falls into the Teme, hard by a very ſteep hill, called at this day Caer-Caradoc, on the top of which are the remains of a camp, ſurrounded with ſtone ramparts, though now covered with earth. The Roman Tumuli are ſtill viſible on the Shropſhire ſide of the Teme, and the Britiſh camp is on the Herefordſhire ſide of that river. Camden's Shropſhire.

manded

manded by their own reſpective chieftains; and going in perſon from rank to rank, exhorted them to exert their utmoſt courage and reſolution, inaſmuch as their liberty and happineſs depended upon the fortune of the day. To theſe remonſtrances they replied with joyous ſhouts and acclamations; which did not fail to ſtartle Oſtorius, who began to think that the nature of their ſituation, the river that ran in their front, and their eagerneſs and alacrity to engage, were obſtacles not to be ſurmounted. Encouraged, however, by the ardour of his troops, who called aloud that nothing was impoſſible to Roman courage, he gave the ſignal for the attack, in conſequence of which they ſprung forward with the utmoſt intrepidity. The river was ſoon paſſed; but, in approaching the Britiſh camp, they received a ſhower of javelins and other miſſiles, which brought a number of the Romans to the ground. Notwithſtanding this terrible diſcharge, they advanced to the rampart, which being compoſed of looſe ſtones, was eaſily demoliſhed in ſeveral places: as ſoon as they had an opportunity of uſing their ſwords, ſuch carnage enſued, that the Britons were totally routed; and their defeat was the more ſeverely felt, as the wife, daughters, and brothers of Caratacus fell into the hands of the conqueror. This victory was followed in a few days with an advantage which Oſtorius could not foreſee: Caratacus himſelf, who had fled for refuge to Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, was delivered into his hands by that princeſs, becauſe ſhe dreaded the reſentment of the victor, in caſe ſhe ſhould grant an aſylum to the vanquiſhed king. An. Ch. 52. betrayed and ſent captiv to Rome.

Thus was the gallant Caratacus treacherouſly ſurrendered to the Roman general, after he had commanded the confederate Britons for nine years ſucceſſively, during which he had made ſuch incredible efforts to maintain the liberty of his coun-

An. Ch. 52. try, againſt officers and armies inured to conqueſt, that his renown had long ago reached the city of Rome, where his name was equally dreaded and revered.

Claudius was no ſooner informed of his being taken, than he ordered him to be conducted to his court, in order to exhibit him as a ſpectacle to the Roman people. Accordingly, on the day appointed for that purpoſe, the emperor aſcended his throne in public, and commanded the captives to be brought into his preſence. Firſt appeared the vaſſals of the Britiſh king, with the trappings and ſpoils of the war; theſe were followed by his wife, brothers, and daughters, imploring mercy with the moſt piteous and abject lamentations; laſt of all came Caratacus, with a dignified aſpect, betraying neither fear nor perplexity in his countenance; but, approaching the tribunal, he fixed his eyes on Claudius, and is ſaid to have ſpoke to this effect.

His addreſs to the emperor.

"Had my moderation been equal to my birth and "fortune, I had arrived in this city, not a cap- "tive, but an ally; nor wouldſt thou have diſ- "dained the alliance of a prince, like me, de- "ſcended from illuſtrious progenitors, and veſted "with the ſupreme authority over many warlike "nations. My preſent fate redounds as much to "thy honour as to my own diſgrace. I was in "poſſeſſion of vaſſals, horſes, arms, and wealth: "what wonder then that I was unwilling to loſe "them? for though you are ambitious of univer- "ſal ſway, it does not follow that all men ought "tamely to ſubmit to your dominion. Had I "ſurrendered myſelf in the beginning of the con- "teſt, neither my misfortune, nor thy glory, "would have attracted the attention of the world, "and my fate would have been buried in oblivion. "But if thou wilt ſpare my life, I ſhall be an "eternal monument of thy clemency." The em-

F. Hayman delin. C. Grignion sculp.

The Noble Behaviour of the Brittish King Caractacus,

before the Emperor Claudius at Rome.

54
An. C

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peror was affected with this addreſs of the Britiſh hero, whom he pardoned on the ſpot; and ordering the captives to be unchained, the firſt uſe they made of their liberty was to go and proſtrate themſelves before the empreſs Agrippina, who ſat enthroned in the ſame place, and was ſuppoſed to have interceded with Claudius in their behalf. The conqueſt and captivity of Caratacus was extolled as highly at Rome as that of Syphax by P. Scipio, and that of Perſeus by L. Paulus; and the ſenate decreed the honours of a triumph to Oſtorius, whoſe fortune ſeemed to forſake him in the ſequel: for whether the Roman troops in Britain became more ſecure and negligent, after the reduction of Caratacus, or the Britons acquired redoubled courage and activity from reſentment and deſpair, they now gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy; they ſuddenly fell upon a Roman quarter-maſter general, who had been left with a body of troops to build forts in the country of the Silures, and cut him in pieces, together with eight centurions, and a number of legionary ſoldiers; on which occaſion all the cohorts would have met with the ſame fate, had not they been ſuſtained by ſuccours from the neareſt ſtations. In a little time after this exploit, they defeated the foragers and their convoy of cavalry; nay, when Oſtorius came up in perſon with the legions, they maintained the battle till night, and then retired. An. Ch. 52.

Theſe actions were followed by innumerable ſkirmiſhes, fought in woods and moraſſes with various ſucceſs; for, they took all opportunities of falling upon ſtraggling parties of the Romans, againſt whom the Silures glowed with the moſt implacable revenge, in conſequence of having heard that the emperor declared the Britons would never be quiet, until the Silures ſhould undergo the fate of the Sigambri, in being extirpated from their

An. Ch. 53. own country, and transported to Gaul. Exasperated at this declaration, they redoubled their hostilities; they intercepted two auxiliary cohorts that were busied in pillaging for the benefit of their officers, and by distributing the booty and the captives among the neighbouring nations, paved the way for a general revolt; when Ostorius died, oppressed with cares and disappointment. The Britons rejoiced at this event, by which they were freed from a vigilant enemy, who, though not killed in battle, they justly supposed owed his death to the war, which he found himself unable to conclude.

Ostorius dies in Britain.

and is succeeded by Aulus Didius.

Considering the precarious and unsettled condition of the Roman province in Britain, this was no time to leave the army without a general; so that Claudius sent thither Aulus Didius, without delay, as proprætor; and notwithstanding all his dispatch, he found affairs in a worse situation than ever, as the Silures had obtained a victory over a legion commanded by Manlius Valens, and elated by this advantage made incursions into the Roman province: however, this loss was in all probability exaggerated by the new general, with a view to enhance the merit of his checking the career of the enemy, whom he compelled to retire.

Venutius marries Cartismandua, and breaks with the Romans.

Mean while Venutius, prince of the Uicci or Vigantes, inhabiting the counties of Warwick and Worcester, a general of distinguished abilities among the Britons, and formerly attached to the Romans, having married Cartismandua, that perfidious queen of the Brigantes, who had betrayed Caratacus, their union was attended with disgust and animosity, which proceeded to a separation and open rupture. A war ensued between the husband and the wife, in the course of which she inveigled his brother and kindred into her power by a fresh act of treachery, which was so flagrant and inexcusable

cuſable as to excite the reſentment of the neighbouring ſtates, ſome of whom reinforced the party of Venutius. In order to counterballance this junction, Cartiſmandua had recourſe to the Romans, whom ſhe had ſo ſignally obliged; and Aulus Didius being too old or inactive to take the field in perſon, or unwilling to riſque the reputation he had already acquired, ſent ſome cohorts to her ſuccour, and to their valour ſhe owed the fortune of the day; nor had ſhe leſs cauſe to congratulate herſelf upon the aſſiſtance of a legion commanded by Ceſius Naſica, which afterwards fought another battle in her favour. An. Ch. 53. Tacit. Ann. l. xii.

Elated with the friendſhip of the Romans, or impatient to gratify an irregular paſſion, which perhaps was the cauſe of her averſion to Venutius, ſhe eſpouſed her own general Vellocatus; an indiſcretion which alienated the minds of her ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that Venutius profited by their diſſatisfaction ſo as to make himſelf maſter of a great part of her territories; and though the Romans marched to her ſuccour on the firſt notice, all they could do was to ſave her perſon from captivity; while, in eſpouſing her cauſe, they converted a ſerviceable friend into an irreconcileable enemy, and entailed a dangerous war upon the empire.

Didius was ſucceeded in the government of Britain by Veranius, under the empire of Nero, and meditated mighty projects, which, as he had acquired great reputation in other employments, would probably have ſucceeded, had they not been anticipated by his death, which happened before he had time to undertake any enterprize of conſequence. This officer's place was filled by Suetonius Paulinus, one of the greateſt generals of his time, the firſt Roman who had paſſed mount Atlas, and penetrated with an army to the banks of the Niger. Suetonius Paulinus takes the command in Britain.

An. Ch. 53. Niger. He glowed with emulation to rival the fame of Corbulo, the conqueror of Armenia, whose glory he resolved to eclipse by his atchievements in Britain. As soon as he arrived in his government, he formed the design of reducing the isle of Mona or Anglesey, separated from the rest of Britain by a narrow channel, over which he transported his infantry in flat-bottom'd boats *, while his cavalry, partly wading and partly swimming, easily surmounted this obstruction. He found the islanders drawn up in order of battle on the shore, to oppose his landing; and saw a number of women, dressed like furies, with dishevelled hair, and torches in their hands, surrounded by Druids, who lifted up their hands to heaven, and poured forth the most terrible execrations. Such a spectacle at first confounded the Romans, and fixed them motionless to the spot, when they received the first assault without opposition; but at length the shame of being terrified by a troop of weak women and priests, together with the exhortations of their general, dispelled the suggestions of their fear, and then charging the Britons sword in hand, they soon made themselves masters of the island. The first use Suetonius made of his victory, was to burn the Druids in the fires which they themselves had kindled for the sacrifice of their prisoners; and in detestation of their barbarities peculiar to the Druidical superstition, he ordered their altars to be demolished, and their sacred groves to be cut down, that no memorial might remain of such an execrable religion. The remnant of the Druids finding them-

conquers the island of Anglesey,

and exterminates the Druids.

* The tradition of the country fixes the place near Porthamel in the parish of Llanidan, where the channel is very narrow; and the Welsh names of the landing-place and the field of battle still preserve a memorial of the transaction. Besides, this tradition is confirmed by the remains of a Roman camp, a large Tumulus, British weapons, bones, ashes, and coins of Claudius found in this particular place. Camden's Anglesey.

selves

ſelves deprived of their ceremonies and habitations, and moreover expoſed to continual dangers from the averſion of the Romans, retired to Ireland and the Hebrides, which are ſuppoſed to have been the original ſeats of their worſhip, while the proprætor began to build forts for the preſervation of the iſland he had conquered. An. Ch. 61.

This work however was ſoon interrupted by an unexpected incident. He was recalled to quell a general inſurrection of the Britons, in which not only the ſubjects, but alſo the allies of the Romans had joined the other nations that were not ſubjected to their ſway. This revolt was undoubtedly ripened by the ſenſe of the grievances under which the Britons groaned. They had not only loſt their antient independency, and form of government, which was ſo dear to their remembrance, but they were ſaddled with cruel taxes, which they borrowed money of the Romans themſelves to pay; and if they failed to reimburſe thoſe uſurers with the utmoſt punctuality, their cattle and goods were ſeized, and themſelves expelled their habitations *. Nay, their miſery became the ſubject of ridicule to their oppreſſors, who inſulted them on all occaſions, ſo as to kindle a deſperate ſpirit of reſentment in a people naturally addicted to paſſion and revenge. Their minds being thus prepared, nothing was wanting but ſome remarkable outrage, to blow the embers into a dangerous flame of open rebellion; and ſuch a provoking act of violence they now ſuſtained on the following occaſion. He is called from thence by a general revolt of the Britons.

Praſatagus, king of the Iceni, lately deceaſed, had by his will bequeathed his eſtate, as a joint inheritance between the emperor and his own daugh-

* We are told by Dio Caſſius, that Seneca lent incredible ſums at extravagant intereſt to thoſe poor people; and, upon their failure in point of payment, proceed to ſuch extremities as in a great meaſure contributed to this revolt.

ters,

An. Ch. 61. ters, in hope that by the ſacrifice of one part, he might ſecure the other to his family: but this precaution, inſtead of anſwering the end for which it was taken, had a quite contrary effect; for, the ceremonies of the funeral were no ſooner performed, than Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, took poſſeſſion of the whole, on pretence of executing the teſtament of the defunct; and the widow Bonduica making remonſtrances againſt this act of injuſtice, he ordered her to be ſcourged like a ſlave, and violated the chaſtity of her daughters: the kindred of Praſatagus were treated like ſlaves, his houſes ſeized, his principalities waſted, and the nobility or chieftains turned out of their paternal eſtates.

Tacit. Vit. Agric. Dio. Caſſius.

Theſe ſhocking barbarities, added to the other motives of diſcontent, exaggerated by the dowager, who was a woman of a maſculine ſpirit and irreſiſtable eloquence, and inflamed by the remaining Druids, who had ſuch influence over all the iſland, produced an univerſal revolt. The Iceni, as being the moſt deeply intereſted in the quarrel, were the firſt who declared themſelves openly; and their example was immediately followed by their neighbours the Trinobantes. Venutius was the next to join the malcontents; the partiſans of his wife, forgetting their particular quarrels, and former amity with the Romans, united with their countrymen on this occaſion: all the ſubjected ſtates, and even the remote Caledonians, engaged in this confederacy; which was headed by Bonduica, who ſoon found her army increaſed to two hundred and thirty thouſand fighting men; ſuch a prodigious number as they had never brought into the field upon any former emergency.

The Britons deſtroy the colony at Camulodunum, under the direction of Bonduica.

The Roman colony at Camulodunum was ſurpriſed and put to the ſword; the temple of Claudius plundered and burnt; the whole infantry of the

the ninth legion, commanded by Petilius Cerealis, surrounded and cut in pieces; and no enemy being able to keep the field against those exasperated enthusiasts, they ravaged the whole country that was subject to the Romans, burning, crucifying, and impaling the wretched people, without distinction of age or sex: they destroyed Verolam, which was a Roman municipium, though not fortified, and returned loaded with booty to their different habitations, after having sacrificed above seventy thousand lives in this expedition. An. Ch. 61.

Suetonius, being informed of this rebellion, quitted his designs in the isle of Anglesey, and marching with his small body of forces through the enemy's country, arrived in safety at London, which was already famous for its wealth and commerce: there being furnished with provision and stores by the Belgic colonies inhabiting the country to the south and west of the Thames, who still adhered to the Roman interest, he drew together the auxiliary cohorts from the neighbouring garrisons that were not tenable; and though Pænius Posthumius, præfect of the second legion, refused to march to his assistance, these draughts, joined with the fourteenth legion and the vexillarii of the twentieth, composed a body of ten thousand men, with which he resolved to take the field, and hazard a general engagement.

The Britons are totally defeated.

With this view he encamped in an advantageous situation; and drawing up his forces in order of battle on a narrow spot of ground, with a thick impenetrable wood in his rear, and a large open plain in front, he waited with great composure for the attack of the enemy, his legionary soldiers being stationed in the center, flanked on the right and left by the light-armed troops, and the wings being formed by the cavalry. The Britons, elated with the advantages they had lately gained, and confiding in

An. Ch. 61. in the vaſt ſuperiority of their number, after having been harrangued by Bonduica*, who appeared among them in a chariot with her two daughters who had been deflowered, proceeded to the attack with loud ſhouts and acclamations; and the Romans ſuſtained the firſt charge without ſhrinking. Nay, they gave them ſuch a warm reception as checked their impetuoſity; and having expended all their javelins, ſallied out in form of a wedge, in order to penetrate the more eaſily through ſuch an enormous multitude. The Britons fought with great obſtinacy and perſeverance, though without order or diſtinction; but at length were obliged to yield to the diſcipline and valour of their enemies, who routed them with great ſlaughter. Their loſs amounted to eighty thouſand killed in the battle and in the purſuit, beſides an infinite number of captives doomed to perpetual ſlavery; for they had, according to cuſtom, brought their women into the field, and diſpoſed them in waggons ranged around the plain, from whence they could ſee the engagement, and animate the men to deeds of glory. Far from being diſheartened by ſuch a terrible defeat, they prepared for another battle, but were diverted from this reſolution by the ſudden death of Bonduica, occaſioned by the violence of her grief and

* Bonduica is repreſented as a tall woman, of remarkable beauty, and the moſt dignified deportment, with a commanding ſeverity in her countenance, a loud ſhrill voice, and a great quantity of yellow hair that flowed down to her loins. She wore a maſſy golden chain about her neck, a flowing robe of various colours, over which was thrown a mantle of coarſer ſtuff. She held a ſpear in her hand, and from a throne of turf harrangued her army, recapitulating the wrongs they had ſuffered from the Romans, reminding them of the bravery of their anceſtors, expatiating upon their late ſucceſs againſt their oppreſſors, and exhorting them to the defence of their liberty, rather than live and undergo the miſery and diſgrace of ſervitude. Having thus inflamed their courage, ſhe let looſe a hare which ſhe had concealed in her boſom, and gave thanks aloud for that happy omen to Adraſte, the goddeſs of war. Dio. l. 62.

deſpair,

deſpair, procured, as ſome alledge, by poiſon. This calamity diſconcerted all their meaſures, and after having celebrated her funeral obſequies, they immediately diſperſed into their ſeveral diſtricts; while Pænius Poſthumius, who had refuſed to obey his general, fell upon his own ſword, either to avoid the puniſhment he had reaſon to expect, or becauſe he could not ſurvive the diſgrace of having excluded himſelf from a ſhare in ſuch an illuſtrious action. An. Ch. 61. Dio. l. 62. Tacit. Vit. Agricol.

As for Paulinus, he took all neceſſary precautions to prevent the Britons from reaſſembling their forces: he deſolated the country, and drove away the cattle; and as the inhabitants neglected agriculture, and were deſtitute of magazines, a dreadful famine enſued, by which great numbers periſhed. Notwithſtanding this grievous calamity, they choſe rather to ſtarve upon their native hills than eat the bread of ſlavery; though nothing retarded their intire reduction, but a quarrel that aroſe between Suetonius and the new procurator Julius Claſſicianus, who having been reſtricted in his extortions by the general, made ſuch unfavourable reports of his conduct at the court of Rome, that Nero ſent over his freedman Polycletus to take cognizance of the affair, and compromiſe the difference. Though this inſpector acquitted Paulinus of the miſdemeanours laid to his charge, the procurator ſtill continued to do him ill offices with the emperor, by whom at laſt the proprætor was recalled, and Petronius Turpilianus, late conſul, appointed in his room. Suetonius is recalled by Nero, and Petronius Turpilianus appointed his ſucceſſor;

The Britons defended their liberties with ſuch unwearied obſtinacy, even in the midſt of the moſt terrible diſtreſſes, and ſuch a number of troops was required to maintain conqueſts of greater importance in other parts of Europe, that Nero would have recalled the Roman forces from Britain, at this

An. Ch. 61. this juncture, had he not been aſhamed to give up the only province which had been added to the empire by Claudius, to whom he owed his own elevation. He therefore nominated Turpilianus to the command in Britain, and he could not have pitched upon a more proper perſon to revive the Roman influence in this iſland; for, inſtead of imitating the example of Suetonius, whoſe ſeverities had rendered him odious to the people, and who was particularly deteſted on account of his having deſtroyed the ſeminary of their laws and religion, he treated them with mildneſs and humanity; ſo that their paſſions ſubſided, their reſentments cooled, and the
An. Ch. 65. revolted ſtates returned to their obedience*.

under whom the ſoldiers become intolerably licentious.

His manner of government gave great ſatisfaction at Rome, where, when he returned, triumphal honours were decreed to him by the ſenate: and his ſucceſſor Trebellius Maximus purſuing the ſame plan of conduct, the Britons were gradually reconciled to the laws and cuſtoms of the Romans. Nevertheleſs, he grew in contempt with the ſoldiers for his inactivity and avarice; and their inſolence broke out in tumults, encouraged by Roſcius Cælius legate of the twentieth legion: ſo that the proprætor was forced to compound the matter with the mutineers, who being indulged in all manner of licentiouſneſs, allowed him to maintain the ſhadow of authority, until the beginning of the civil war, in the latter end of Nero's reign; when the auxiliary cohorts and cavalry deſerting to Cælius, he was fain to fly for protection to Vitellius, who had aſſumed the
An. Ch. 69. purple in Germany.

Nero being ſlain during theſe tranſactions, Britain enjoyed ſome repoſe in the ſhort reigns of

* Thoſe were the Iceni and their confederates, inhabiting the middle parts of the iſland, as far north as Lincolnſhire, and weſtward to the Severne, through which the procurator Catus had made thoſe roads, canals, and other works deſcribed by Dr. Stukely in his firſt Iter.

Galba

Galba and Otho, the troops of this province being commanded by their ſeveral tribunes, among whom Cælius aſſumed the chief authority. But as ſoon as Vitellius had eſtabliſhed himſelf on the imperial throne, he beſtowed the command of the army in Britain on Vectius Bolanus, who, being little acquainted with the operations of war, allowed the Britons to live in peace, contenting himſelf with the affection of his ſoldiers, which he took pains to conciliate; ſo that the iſland enjoyed great tranquillity during his government, until he was relieved by Petilius Cerealis, immediately upon Veſpaſian's acceſſion to the imperial dignity. This officer, during his adminiſtration, attacked at different times, and as often defeated the Brigantes, who were the moſt numerous and powerful people in the whole iſland. And Julius Frontinus, by whom he was ſucceeded, acquired an equal ſhare of glory, in ſubduing the Silures, who were reckoned the moſt warlike nation of the Britons, and almoſt inacceſſible from the nature of their ſituation.

An. Ch. 69.

Vitellius beſtows the command in Britain upon Vectius Bolanus.

Petilius Cerealis appointed governor, and is ſucceeded by Frontinus.

The conteſts for the empire among ſo many competitors had called off the attention of the Romans from the affairs of Britain; and as their armies were engaged in more intereſting diſputes, than could ariſe from the adminiſtration of ſuch a remote province, Venutius had taken this opportunity to revenge his old quarrel, by exciting a revolt among the Brigantes and other nations, who forthwith invaded the Roman province, and met with little oppoſition, until the arrival of Cerealis, by whom they were entirely reduced; a conqueſt that concurred with the victories he had before obtained in Gaul and Germany, to raiſe his character to the higheſt pinnacle of military reputation. And although Frontinus might have been expected to have made a diſadvantageous figure, in coming

An. Ch. 78. after such an illustrious general, he supported the dignity of the empire with equal capacity, and acquired an equal portion of renown in subduing the Silures, who inhabited the forest of Deane, and the counties of Hereford and Monmouth.

The command conferred upon Agricola.

Frontinus was succeeded in command by Julius Agricola, who had served in Britain under Suetonius and Cerealis, and on every occasion distinguished himself by his valour and ability. Immediately before he was appointed to this government, the Ordovices of Denbighshire and Flintshire had surprised and cut in pieces a body of Roman cavalry quartered upon their frontiers; and Agricola no sooner arrived, than he assembled his army, and began his march into the enemy's country. They retired to their mountains, where they thought themselves secure; but no difficulty could withstand his valour. He made them pay dearly for the petty advantage they gained, and not only defeated and reduced the Ordovices, but also penetrated into the isle of Anglesey, which Suetonius had been constrained to abandon.

On this occasion, being destitute of boats to transport his troops, he ordered his cavalry to swim across the channel; an enterprize which astonished the inhabitants to such a degree, that they submitted without having made the least opposition *.

Agricola returning from this glorious expedition, spent the winter in rectifying the disorders that had crept into the administration of the province; in reforming the soldiery, and improving the discipline of the army. These important aims he accomplished with equal sagacity and success: he prevented extortion, bridled the insolence of power, appointed magistrates of approved integrity, and

* There are still to be seen the remains of two Roman forts, one of which is called Griceil, probably from the name of Agricola.

by his mild and equitable government maintained the province in tranquillity and abundance: so that the nations had cause to rejoice when, upon the death of Vespasian, which happened at this period, his son and successor Titus, who knew his worth and ability, confirmed him in his command. In the beginning of summer he took the field again, directing his march towards the north, where he subdued the Otodini of Northumberland, who had not yet submitted to the Romans; and that he might not lose his summer-conquests during the severity of winter, he ordered a chain of forts to be built at proper distances; in which he left garrisons to quell any commotions that might arise, and sustain one another occasionally, in case they should be attacked *. In this campaign he finished the conquest of what is now called England. An. Ch. 78. who finishes the conquest of South Britain;

He employed the succeeding winter in making further improvements on the civil regulations of the province; and, by the elegance of his manners and insinuating address, made such progress in taming the barbarity of the Britons, that they became enamoured of the Roman arts and magnificence, which they began to imitate with surprising emulation. They raised stately temples, superb porticoes, and public edifices of the Grecian structure; they learned and spoke the Latin language, which they formerly abhorred; they accustomed themselves to wear the Roman toga, and looked upon that as a mark of politeness, which was in effect a badge of their slavery. An. Ch. 79. and polishes the Britons.

In these advances to politeness and effeminacy, they were encouraged and assisted by Agricola,

* Those castles afterwards constituted the chief strength of Adrian's Vallum, which was no other than a trench or parapet joining the forts together. The inscriptions on stones dug out of the earth in different parts of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, more antient than the reign of Adrian, leave no room to doubt that Agricola subdued the Otodini as well as the western Brigantes. Baxter. Gloss. Brit. ant.

An. Ch. 79. who, in the courſe of a ſocial intercourſe with the chiefs and princes, made them acquainted with the comforts and conveniences of life, to which they had hitherto been ſtrangers: he had previouſly ſecured their eſteem and confidence by enliſting their vaſſals, of whom he compoſed the auxiliary cohorts, and giving the command of them to Britiſh officers: he perſuaded them to build public ſtructures for the ornament of their country, and houſes more ſuitable to the dignity of their birth, than thoſe contemptible and inconvenient cabins in which they reſided. He even furniſhed them with means to make theſe improvements, and indulged their ſons with a Roman education at his own expence.

Tacit Vit. Agricol.

He advances into Scotland,

In his third campaign, he advanced into the country now called Scotland, as far as the river Tay, carrying the terror and novelty of his arms among nations hitherto unknown, who, though his army was expoſed to the rage and inclemency of dreadful tempeſts, never ventured to harraſs it in the march; ſo that they were conquered as ſoon as diſcovered; and theſe conqueſts ſecured by forts ſo advantageouſly ſituated, ſo artfully conſtructed, and ſo faithfully maintained, that not even one of them was ever taken, abandoned, or betrayed. They were well ſupplied with proviſions and garriſons, that maintained them through the winter, during which the ſoldiers made ſeveral excurſions and ravaged the country; to the inconceiveable vexation and even deſpair of the inhabitants, who hoped to gain in one ſeaſon what they loſt in another.

and fortifies the iſthmus between the Forth and Clyde.

The ſucceeding year he employed in extending and ſtill further ſecuring the conqueſts of the preceding campaign; for, he drove the enemy before him to the weſtern extremities of the iſland, and fortified the iſthmus between the rivers Forth and Clyde, with a chain of caſtles, by which the natives were excluded from the Roman ſettlements, and

and as it were confined within the limits of another island. An. Ch. 79.

In the fifth year of his expedition, he penetrated beyond the friths, and embarking on board of a fleet equipped for conqueſt and diſcovery, ſailed along the weſtern coaſts of Scotland, viſited ſeveral unknown nations, made deſcents in ſeveral places of the Highlands, Hebrides, and Orkneys, and, in repeated engagements, defeated the clans who took arms in defence of their country.

At his return from this naval excurſion, he quartered his troops in the part of Britain which lies oppoſite to Ireland, with a view to invade that iſland, which he hoped to conquer with a very moderate force, in conſequence of the information he had received from an Iriſh chief, who having been expelled from his own country, fled to Agricola for refuge: but he was prevented from executing this reſolution by the envy and jealouſy of Domitian, who had by this time ſucceeded Titus on the imperial throne.

Marches againſt the Caledonians

The ſixth campaign of Agricola was of all the moſt glorious and important. Hearing that the nations on the other ſide of the Forth were in commotion, he reſolved to penetrate to the very northern extremity of the iſland, and ordered his fleet to keep pace with the march of his army along the ſhore. He had not proceeded far in this manner, when he underſtood from the priſoners, that the Britons of that country, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Caledonians, had aſſembled a vaſt multitude of armed men, in order to diſpute his paſſage; and that they intended to make irruptions into the lowlands with ſeveral diſtinct armies, in order to attack the Roman ſettlements. Cautioned by this intelligence, he divided into three ſeparate bodies, that he might not be ſurrounded by their numbers, or circumvented by their ſuperior knowledge of the country.

An. Ch. 79. who surprise one of his legions,

He had like to have suffered severely by this disposition, which was no sooner communicated to the Britons, than they joined their troops again with incredible dispatch; and surprising in the night the ninth legion, which lay at a distance from the army, cut in pieces the guards, and broke into the camp with incredible impetuosity. Agricola, apprised of their intention, detached his cavalry on the instant to sustain the legion, and amuse the enemy, until the infantry should arrive: so that, when day broke, the enemy perceiving the succours advancing, would have willingly retired; but as they were now engaged in front and rear, they found themselves obliged to maintain the battle, which was fought for some time with equal obstinacy on both sides; till at last the enemy were constrained to fly before the arms and discipline of the Romans; and perhaps that day would have terminated the war, had they not found shelter among their mountains, woods, and morasses, which were unknown and inaccessible to the victors.

They were not disconcerted by this defeat, which they imputed to unforeseen accidents, rather than to the valour of the Romans, and resolved once more to try the fortune of a battle: for this purpose they sent all their wives and children into their fortified towns, and assembled an army superior to that which they had at first brought into the field; but nothing farther was attempted on either side, during the remaining part of the season; and in the winter a German cohort, resolving to return to their own country, seized on two vessels, and put to sea; but were driven upon the coast of Friesland, where they were enslaved. Soon as the weather would permit Agricola to take the field in the succeeding spring, he ordered his navy to alarm the coast, while he himself began his march to the Grampian hills; on which he found the enemy posted, to the number of thirty thousand, commanded by their prince

prince Galgacus, who, in a pathetic ſpeech to his people, repreſented, that ſituated as they were, at the extremity of the iſland, they had no reſource but their courage, and that victory alone could ſave them from eternal bondage. An. Ch. 79.

Agricola too judged it expedient to harrangue his ſoldiers, after he had drawn them up in order of battle, ſo as that the confederate Britons in his army ſhould bear the firſt ſhock of the enemy's attack; the legions being placed in the rear to ſupport this body, in caſe it ſhould be repulſed. As for the army of Galgacus, it was arranged upon the declivity of a hill, which it covered entirely, and the cavalry ſkirted the plain, with the chariots of war in the front of their line. The Roman general extended his firſt line to the right and left, that he might not be outflanked by ſuch a multitude; he alighted from his horſe and poſted himſelf at the head of the legions. The battle began with ſhowers of javelins, which did but little execution on either ſide, though the Britons at this diſtance enjoyed an advantage, which they could not expect to maintain in cloſe fight, with their ſmall targets and long pointleſs ſwords, againſt the offenſive and defenſive arms of the legionary ſoldiers. Agricola therefore detached four cohorts of Batavians and Thuringians to attack them ſword in hand; theſe ſpringing forwards with great celerity, employed their ſhort pointed ſwords againſt the naked bodies of the iſlanders, in ſuch a manner, that a great number fell dead on the ſpot, and the enemy began to fall into confuſion. The reſt of the Roman army profiting by this diſorder, advanced immediately to the attack, and falling among them with great impetuoſity, a terrible ſlaughter enſued; while the chariots were rendered uſeleſs by the unevenneſs of the ground. The Britiſh infantry, poſted upon the brow of the hill, made a motion to attack the

An. Ch. 79. Romans, who were by this time dispersed in the pursuit of those they had already routed; but, Agricola perceiving their design, ordered part of his cavalry to advance and keep them in awe, and the rest of his troops in the mean time completed the victory. Now a dreadful scene ensued. The wings were ordered to close and flank the Caledonians on both sides; then the carnage and confusion redoubled. They endeavoured to fly; but finding themselves enclosed on every side, threw down their arms and rushed upon the swords of the Romans: the ground was strewed with the mangled bodies of the dead and dying, and overflowed with the blood of those that fell: yet, even in this extremity, the Britons did not fail to exhibit proofs of valour and recollection; for as they were repulsed to the neighbouring woods, they rallied in small bodies, and fell upon those who were too eager in the pursuit. They made several efforts of this nature; till Galgacus, finding it impossible to restore the battle, retired with the remains of his army, leaving ten thousand men dead on the field; whereas the Romans lost but three hundred and forty. The fortune of this day was celebrated on one side in shouts of joy, with which the Roman camp resounded through the night; and on the other, bewailed with dismal yells and lamentations that echoed from the mountain, while they examined the particulars of their loss, howled over their dead countrymen, and endeavoured to carry off their wounded princes. Yet the darkness facilitated the retreat of the vanquished, in which they used such diligence, that before day-light there was not one to be seen; a gloomy silence reigned over the neighbouring hills; and distant clouds of smoke issued from the Caledonian villages, which they themselves had burned in the first transports of their despair; nay, to such a pitch of horror and frenzy

Galgacus is defeated at the Grampian hills.

did

did this prevail, that many chieftains maſſacred their own wives and children, that they might not be expoſed to the miſeries of want, or be violated and enſlaved by the inſulting Romans. An. Ch. 79.

The Roman general having ſtruck this deciſive blow *, did not think proper to purſue a ſcattered enemy thro' mountains, fens, and woods, to which he was a ſtranger; but the ſeaſon being exhauſted, he marched back to the ſhire of Angus, inhabited by the Horeſti, who immediately ſubmitted to his government, and delivered hoſtages for their good behaviour. There he embarked a body of his troops on board of the fleet, and ordered the commander to ſurround the whole coaſt of Britain, which had not been diſcovered to be an iſland till the preceding year; which directions being given, he led his army into winter-quarters. As for the fleet, it ſteered to the northward, where it ſubdued the Orkneys; and making a tour of the whole iſland, arrived in the port of Sandwich, without having met with the leaſt diſaſter. The Roman fleet ſails round the whole iſland of Great Britain.

Domitian received the news of this victory with marks of joy upon his countenance, while his heart teemed with the moſt rancourous envy, at the atchievements and reputation of Agricola; for whom, however, he commanded the ſenate to decree triumphal honours and a ſtatue crowned with laurel. Corn. Tacit. Agric. Vit.

* This battle, according to the author of Britannia Romana, was fought at Forten-Gall camp, ſixteen miles beyond Perth; though Gordon, in his Itineratium ſeptentrionale, fixes it at the confluence of the Erne and Ruchel, in Stratherne.

Galgacus, though choſen to command the Caledonians upon this occaſion, is ſuppoſed to have been a Soto-Brigantian from Galloway, which with the low-lands of Scotland was inhabited by the ſame people who poſſeſſed the northern parts of England: theſe were ſuch as retired from the oppreſſion of the Romans, and joined the Caledonians, who lived on the other ſide of the Forth.---This conjecture of Mr. Baxter in his Gloſſary is ſupported by his Welch name Gaulaur ap Llienauc (for ſo he is called by the ancient author of the Triades), ſignifying the fruit of a ſtolen embrace.

But

An. Ch. 79. Agricola is recalled.

But that he might not ſeize other opportunities of augmenting his renown, he recalled that great general, on pretence of beſtowing upon him the government of Syria. This muſt have been a very mortifying order to Agricola, who had almoſt finiſhed the intire reduction of Britain; nevertheleſs, he obeyed without repining, and delivering up his province in a ſtate of quiet and ſubmiſſion to his ſucceſſor Salluſtius Lucullus, returned to Rome, where he was received with coldneſs and contempt; and in a little time expired, not without ſuſpicion of having been poiſoned by the directions of Domitian. The Romans in Britain, far from purſuing the advantage they had gained in the laſt victory, allowed the Caledonians to enjoy their own poſſeſſions, and ſeemed to conſider the forts erected between the two friths, as the proper boundaries of the empire. Perhaps this moderation contributed to the tranquillity of the province, which was not diſturbed by any commotion from this period to the reign of Adrian, if it was even then really diſturbed.

The Caledonians make irruptions into Britain.

All the inhabitants of Britain were not yet reconciled to the dominion of the Romans. Some even of the ſouthern parts deteſting the manners of their conquerors, who loaded them with grievous taxes, and tranſported the greateſt part of their youth to fight their battles in other parts of the world, choſe rather to forſake their native poſſeſſions, than maintain them on ſuch ſervile terms; and accordingly a great number of them retired beyond the friths, where they lived independent, though poor, among the Caledonians, and joined them in the ſequel, when they made ſuch dreadful irruptions into the Roman province, and ravaged the lands of their countrymen with fire and ſword.

Their firſt exploit of this kind was performed in the firſt year of Adrian's reign; on which occaſion

sion they surprised and demolished some of the forts which Agricola had built on the isthmus, and returned to their native hills laden with booty. The emperor being informed of this commotion, conferred the government of Britain upon Julius Severus, who was immediately recalled to be employed elsewhere; and as the Caledonians continued their incursions, the emperor resolved to go thither in person, and tame the insolence of those ferocious islanders, who could not be persuaded to live in peace. An. Ch. 79.

After he had landed in Britain, and proceeded as far as York, he met with some old officers who had served under Agricola; and these gave him such an unfavourable account of the country which he intended to subdue, that he laid aside the design of penetrating into a savage country, covered with impassible woods, mountains, and morasses, the conquest of which would be attended with great difficulty and danger, and at last yield neither glory nor advantage. He exercised his sagacity and reflection in contriving measures for preserving the peace of the province; and judging that the irruptions of the Caledonians, or Picts, proceeded from their being hampered for want of room, in such a narrow corner of the island, he ordered the castles between the friths to be abandoned, and contracted the Roman province within the other line of forts built also by Agricola, from Solway frith to the river Tyne. It was upon this occasion, as we have already hinted, that he raised a strong rampart of earth connecting these forts, extending ninety miles across the island from east to west. The southern parts being thus secured from insult, and the Caledonians indulged wtth plenty of ground, he returned to Rome, where he was honoured with the title of Restorer of Britain, as we learn from some medals struck on that occasion.

Adrian arrives in Britain,

and builds the famous rampart between the Esk and Tyne.

These

An. Ch. 134. These precautions were such as effectually restrained the northern nations, who in all probability were more awed by the character than by the works of Adrian; for, though they desisted from all hostilities during his reign, they no sooner were informed of his death, without knowing the capacity of his successor, than they demolished his rampart in several parts, and renewed their ravages in the Roman province. These tidings being reported at Rome, the new emperor, Antoninus Pius, bestowed the command in Britain on Lollius Urbicus, who not only drove the enemy out of the northern parts of England, but even repelled them beyond the limits within which they had been confined by Agricola: he raised a fortification almost in the same line from frith to frith, and hard by established a strong camp, in which he kept a body of forces to defend the wall and defeat the attempts of the Caledonians. In consequence of these atchievements, Antoninus was complimented with the title of Britannicus, though he had never been in the island.

Lollius Urbicus takes the command in Britain, and builds a strong wall between the Forth and Clyde.

An. Ch. 140. Though the Caledonian adventurers were thus restricted, we ought not to suppose that this general drove all the inhabitants of the lowlands before him to the north of Scotland. The eastern parts of Lothian and the counties adjoining to Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland, were possessed by people, who probably, on this occasion, submitted to the Roman sway, and afterwards claimed their protection from the incursions of those who were their former allies.

These, however, excited no new commotions during the remaining part of the reign of Antoninus Pius; but at his death, which they looked upon as a favourable conjuncture, they renewed their ravages; and Marcus Aurelius, who succeeded to the imperial throne, sent over Calpurnius Agricola,

as

as proprætor, to re-eſtabliſh the tranquillity of Britain. This governor's endeavours were attended with the deſired ſucceſs; and we hear of no other diſturbances in this reign, during which a Britiſh king, of the name of Lucius, is ſaid to have embraced the Chriſtian religion *. An.Ch.162. Bed. p. 19.

Marcus Aurelius being ſucceeded by his ſon Commodus, a flagitious wretch, unworthy of ſuch a father, the management of affairs fell into the hands of worthleſs pimps and paraſites, who, laying aſide the officers of ability and integrity, who had ſerved the late emperor, conferred poſts and governments upon profligate perſons of their own ſtamp, who had become neceſſary inſtruments in their debauches, or purchaſed their promotion with extravagant ſums of money; for which they indemnified themſelves by fleecing the people ſubjected to their government. Such prepoſterous conduct could not fail of being attended with a relaxation of diſcipline in the army, and diſorder and diſcontent in the provinces; of which the Caledonians taking advantage, aſſembled a ſtrong body of forces, broke through the wall of Antoninus, cut off the Roman general and all his troops, and filled the whole country with terror and devaſtation. Commodus, alarmed at the ravages and ſucceſs of thoſe indomitable barbarians, appointed Ulpius Marcellus proprætor in Britain; and this commander being a

The Caledonians renew their incurſions;

* Notwithſtanding the great pains taken by Bede, Fiſher, Stillingfleet, and other hiſtorians, in order to aſcertain the converſion of this prince, it is very much doubted whether there ever was ſuch a king among the Britons: nor was there any formed chriſtian church in this iſland till after the year two hundred and fifty. Not but that there might be a number of private converts long before this period, in conſequence of the correſpondence between Britain and Rome. Indeed one would imagine from the braſs medal of Chriſt, with an Hebrew inſcription, ſignifying, "This is Jeſus Chriſt," &c. lately dug out of the rubbiſh of the chief tribunal of the Druids in the iſle of Angleſey, that ſome preacher of the chriſtian religion had been there condemned and ſacrificed, before they were extirpated by Suetonius Paulinus.

per-

An.Ch.162. but are repulsed by Ulpius Marcellus. Dio. l. 72.

person of uncorrupted morals, experience in the art of war, undaunted courage, and indefatigable vigilance, soon restored the troops to their ancient discipline by his example and severity; and defeated the Caledonians in several engagements with great slaughter, by which they were so weakened and intimidated, that they did not attempt another invasion during the remaining part of this emperor's reign. But the glory he acquired in this expedition had like to have cost him his life, through the envy and jealousy of his master, who assumed the title of Britannicus on account of the victory the proprætor had won: and recalling him from his government, sold his place to the best bidder. This in all probability was some low-born miscreant, without weight or authority, who allowed the soldiers to live according to their own pleasure, regardless of discipline and restraint, until, under a succession of these commanders, they degenerated to such a degree of licentiousness, that a mutiny ensued. A deputation of fifteen hundred being sent to Rome with complaints against the administration, struck such a terror into the heart of Commodus, that he sacrificed Perennis, the commander of his prætorian guards, to appease their dangerous clamour; and bestowed the command of the province upon Pertinax, who afterwards ascended the imperial throne.

Pertinax appointed to the government of Britain.

Even this proprætor, with all his great talents, found it almost impracticable to reduce them to order and obedience; for, when he attempted to exert his authority, one of the mutinous legions took to their arms, and a tumult ensued, in which a great deal of blood was spilt, and Pertinax himself left for dead upon the spot. Notwithstanding this miscarriage in the beginning, he afterwards employed his industry and address to such good purpose, that he effected a reformation; and although

though he made ſome ſevere examples of the moſt ſeditious among them, became a favourite with the army. Yet, he found ſuch difficulty in conquering their averſion to exact diſcipline, that he deſired to be recalled, and having at length obtained his requeſt, was ſucceeded by Clodius Albinus, who, though commanded to reſign his office to Junius Severus, becauſe he had given offence in a ſpeech he made to the army, on a falſe report of the emperor's death, refuſed to part with the government, and continued in poſſeſſion of it at the death of Commodus, who was ſoon after murdered in his own palace. An.Ch.192. Is ſucceeded by Clodius Albinus. Lamprid. in Comm.

It was at this period that Pertinax aſſumed the imperial purple; and all good men rejoiced at his elevation, inaſmuch as his great abilities, and unblemiſhed character, promiſed a wiſe, mild, and happy adminiſtration: nor would he have diſappointed the expectation of his ſubjects, had he lived to exert thoſe talents and virtues by which his character was diſtinguiſhed; for this very reaſon his elevation could not but give diſguſt to thoſe who knew their conduct would not ſtand the teſt of inquiry. This was the caſe with the prætorian troops, who not only expected to be puniſhed for their licentiouſneſs, but alſo dreaded the proſpect of a reformation, which in order to avert, they murdered the new emperor, at the immediate inſtigation of Didius Julianus, to whom they ſold the imperial dignity. Perhaps this perſon, who had no other pretenſions than his wealth, would not have preſumed to attempt ſuch a purchaſe, unleſs he had been encouraged with the promiſe of ſupport, by Albinus, who now commanded in Britain, and looked upon Pertinax as his enemy. An.Ch.193.

Didius was no ſooner proclaimed emperor, than he found himſelf unequal to the taſk of managing ſuch an unweildy purchaſe. His perſon and govern-

ment

An. Ch. 189. ment were treated with universal contempt; and the armies that served in the distant provinces, incensed at the presumption of the prætorian band, who had raised him to the throne without their knowledge and concurrence, desired their own generals to assume the imperial purple. It was in consequence of such importunities that C. Pescennius Niger declared himself emperor in the East, and Septimus Severus put on the imperial ensigns in Illyria. He had an advantage over his competitor in being near the capital, whither he marched without delay, and was acknowledged by the senate, which had, upon his approach, given orders for putting Didius to death. But he did not think himself secure on the throne while Niger lived, and Albinus maintained such influence among the legions of Britain. The last therefore, he cajoled with promises of sharing the empire with him, and in the mean time permitted him to enjoy the badges and distinctions of his associate, until Niger was defeated and slain; then he revolved different expedients for disengaging himself from Albinus, whose promotion stood in the way of his own family. No method seemed more effectual and expeditious than that of poison, which he hired some assassins to administer: but Albinus being apprised of their design, extorted from them a confession with the rack, and being convinced of his colleague's treachery, declared war against Severus, and assumed the title of Emperor and Augustus. Conscious of his own strength and influence, he forthwith crossed the sea, and gained the army on the Rhine over to his party; while Severus advanced at the head of his troops to decide the contention by force of arms: these two powerful rivals meeting in a large plain near Lyons in Gaul, a terrible battle ensued, and continued a long time with doubtful success, the British troops having charged

Albinus sets up for the empire, and is defeated by Severus.

charged with ſuch impetuoſity in the beginning, that Severus had like to have been worſted; but his general Lætus, with a freſh body of men, changed the fortune of the day: and Albinus ſeeing his legions routed, fell upon his own ſword in deſpair. An. Ch. 197. Spartian in Sever. Herodian. l. 3.

Severus was no ſooner rendered by this deciſive action ſole maſter of the empire, than he diſpatched Virius Lupus into Britain, with the title of prætor, to repel the Caledonians, who had made incurſions even beyond Adrian's wall, during the abſence of the legions which had been tranſported to the continent by Albinus. Mean while the emperor himſelf remained in Gaul, where, among other regulations, he divided the government of Britain into two provinces. Lupus on his arrival finding the province in the utmoſt diſtreſs, and the Caledonians very powerful, in conſequence of their being joined by the Meatæ, who inhabited the diſtrict between the walls of Antoninus and Adrian, he did not chooſe to depend upon the hazard of war, but, on pretence of redeeming the captives, purchaſed a peace from the barbarians. This treaty remained in full force and unviolated for ſeveral years, till at length the northern Britons, tired of inaction, which might blunt their martial genius, or ſtimulated by wants which they could ſupply by rapine only, made an irruption into the Roman province, with ſuch numbers and impetuoſity, that the proprætors, after having joined their forces, and made divers unſucceſsful efforts to ſtem the torrent, were obliged to ſend to Rome for freſh reinforcements. Virius Lupus is ſent into Britain with the title of prætor.

Severus, alarmed at the diſtreſs of Britain, which was conſidered as the moſt important province of the empire, reſolved to go thither in perſon; and, aſſembling an army without delay, ſet out on the expedition in his declining age, when he was ſo

An.Ch.197. crippled with the gout, that he was obliged to be carried in a litter; and that he might be able to ſurmount every obſtacle that could retard the intire conqueſt of the iſland, he not only provided a ſtrong army of veteran troops, but on his arrival in Britain, he likewiſe prepared pontoons to be laid over moraſſes, and other military machines for clearing woods, opening roads, and rendering mountains acceſſible; ſo that the enemy ſhould not avail themſelves of the faſtneſſes to which they uſually retired from the purſuit of their conquerors.

Severus arrives in Britain, and refuſes to grant peace to the Caledonians.

The fame of the emperor's arrival in Britain, and the report of theſe mighty preparations, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the Caledonians and their allies, that they ſent ambaſſadors to ſue for peace, which however they could not obtain, becauſe he was now fully determined to reduce them effectually; and that he might devote his whole attention to this enterprize, he left the adminiſtration of affairs in South Britain to the care of his younger ſon Geta, reſolving that the eldeſt ſhould attend him in the expedition.

Theſe previous meaſures being taken, he began his march, and advancing towards Adrian's rampart, found the whole country deſolated by the enemy; a circumſtance that did not fail to corroborate the reſolution he had already taken, to merit and aſſume the glorious title of Britannicus, which had attractions ſuperior to all the glory he had acquired, and was in all appearance the chief motive that induced him to undertake the conqueſt of ſuch a warlike people, in ſpite of the dangers of the campaign, and the infirmities of old age, under which he laboured. As he penetrated into the country of the Caledonians, he employed his pioneers in laying it open; and indeed he could not uſe too much precaution of this kind againſt the efforts of thoſe

thoſe northern Britons, who wiſely avoided general actions with ſuch an invincible army, but ſeized all opportunities of harraſſing them in their march, and cutting off ſmall parties that ſtraggled in queſt of forage or plunder. They followed the maxims of Caſſiavellaunus, who allured the Roman ſoldiers into bogs, thickets, and narrow paſſes, after droves of cattle aſſembled for the purpoſe, and then fell upon them by ſurprize with incredible fury, after having cut off their communication with the army: in all probability theſe Caledonians were originally of the ſame race of Britons over whom that prince had reigned. They were armed and painted in the ſame manner: nor do they ſeem to have degenerated in point of courage and fortitude; for they were accuſtomed to ſwim through marſhes, lakes, and rivers; and expoſed themſelves voluntarily to the moſt imminent dangers. They exerted their induſtry and valour to ſuch a degree, in multiplying the perils and hardſhips of their invaders, that numbers of the Roman ſoldiers, fatigued with hard duty, and diſtracted with continual alarms, intreated their comrades to put an end to their miſerable lives, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of ſuch a ſavage enemy; and Severus is ſaid to have loſt fifty thouſand men in this expedition *. An. Ch. 197.

Not-

* The Caledonians were in all probability rendered more hardy than their ſouthern progenitors, by the extreme cold and poverty of the country which they inhabited. They lived in tents and cabbins upon the tops of mountains, in the midſt of woods, and among almoſt inacceſſible moraſſes, ignorant of arts and agriculture. They lived upon wild roots, fruits, the milk and fleſh of their cattle, beſides the veniſon they killed in hunting. They had moreover a very extraordinary eatable, of which the bigneſs of a common bean was ſufficient to ſatisfy the cravings of hunger and thirſt; and though their ſeas, rivers, and lakes, teemed with delicate fiſh, they were prohibited by their religion from taſting this bounty of nature. Like the Britons of the ſouth, they held their wives as a common good for the benefit of ſociety; and indeed they ſeemed to have the ſame opinion with regard to every other convenience; for whatever attracted their cupidity, they ſeized without ſcruple.

They were bold, ſtrong, active, pa-

An.Ch.197. Notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties, loſſes, and mortifications, Severus purſued his purpoſe with incredible reſolution, until he had made his way to the moſt northern extremity of the iſland; and then granted peace to the enemy, which they were glad to accept on the terms that he was pleaſed to propoſe. Whatever the articles of this pacification may have been, certain it is they ſubmitted to the Roman empire; and Severus, not yet ſatisfied of their ſincerity and faith, ordered a new wall to be built acroſs the Roman province, ſo near the rampart raiſed by Adrian, that ſome authors imagine the firſt ſerved as a foundation to the other. It was ſtrengthened by caſtella built within leſs than a mile of each other, four ſmall turrets between every two caſtella, a deep ditch to the north, and extended ſixty-eight miles from Segedunum or Couſin's houſe on the river Tyne to Timocelum or Boulneſs near Carliſle. Severus being by this time almoſt overwhelmed with infirmities, retired to York, leaving his ſon Antoninus, afterwards ſurnamed Caracalla, to ſuperintend this work, and take the command of the army; and this prince, who was a youth of profligate morals, and had been more than once engaged in conſpiracies againſt his father's life, made ſuch an arbitrary uſe of his authority, and treated the lately pacified North Britons with ſuch inſolence and cruelty, as provoked them to renounce the peace, and take arms once more againſt the Romans.

He penetrates to the extremity of the iſland.

An.Ch.208. A revolt which incenſed the old emperor to ſuch a pitch of indignation, that ordering himſelf to be carried immediately to the camp, he harangued the

tient of labour, thirſt, and hunger, and ſo inured to hardſhips, that they could run up to the neck in bogs, and continue three days in that ſituation, without any manner of ſuſtenance. They were raw-boned, and red-haired; a circumſtance which, together with the conſideration of their arms, induced Tacitus to believe they were deſcended from the Germans; and laſtly, they uſed chariots in battle, drawn by ſmall horſes, remarkably nimble and hardy. Dio. Herodian.

ſoldiers

soldiers upon the inconstancy and perfidy of those barbarians, whom, in a verse of Homer, he exhorted them to extirpate, without even sparing the child in the mother's womb. Having thus inflamed their resentment, he invested Caracalla with the command of the expedition; while he himself returned to York, where in a little time he ended his days. With respect to the war, his orders were very ill executed by Caracalla, who was more intent upon courting the favour of the army than in annoying the enemy: for, being persuaded that his father was already on the verge of the grave, he had begun to form a party against his brother Geta. Nor was he disappointed in his expectation touching the old emperor, the news of whose death no sooner reached him, than he renewed the peace with the Caledonians and Meatæ; and having received hostages for the performance of articles, retired into the Roman province. An. Ch. 208.

Severus bequeathed the empire to his two sons, though Caracalla's great ambition was to reign alone, and all his efforts were directed to this aim, which however, he could not accomplish at this period; the will of the old emperor was religiously obeyed: the soldiers took the oath of fidelity to Bassianus (afterwards Caracalla) and Geta, and the two brothers went together to Rome, accompanying their father's ashes, which were deposited in Adrian's mausoleum. But the elder, still actuated by the most furious ambition, and unnatural animosity, gratified those pernicious passions with the sacrifice of his brother, who was assassinated by his direction. An. Ch. 211. Spartian in Sever. in Herod. 33. Dio. l. 76. An. Ch. 238.

From the departure of these two princes, there is a melancholy chasm in the history of this country for a great number of years; during which, historians are silent upon the subject, and all the transactions we can learn have been found in several inscriptions in different parts of England. From these, A great chasm in the history of Britain.

An.Ch.242. it appears that in the reign of Gordian III. Mæcilius Fuſcus commanded in this iſland, when he repaired the barracks and arſenals which had fallen to decay; that two years after this event, Cneius Lucilianus the proprætor built a bath, with an exchange or portico; and that Nonius Philippus was governor of the Britiſh province, in the year that preceded the death of the emperor Gordian. Cam.Cumb.

A number of tyrants ſpring up in this iſland.

Theſe are all the particulars relating to the hiſtory of England, which are to be collected from the reign of Caracalla to that of Publius Licinius Galienus, in whoſe time thirty tyrants ſprung from the corruption of his government. Six of theſe, namely Lollianus, Victorianus, Poſthumus, the elder and younger Tetricus, with Marius, ſeem to have declared for themſelves in this iſland; at leaſt, the number of their coins found in the neighbourhood of Colcheſter, encourage this conjecture; and Porphyry the philoſopher, who lived in thoſe times, calls Britain a ſoil fruitful in tyrants. The peace of this iſland might have been reſtored by Marcus Aurelius Flavius Claudius, the ſucceſſor of Galienus, had not he been ſuddenly overtaken by death, in the midſt of his preparations for reducing Tetricus, who at that time ruled the weſtern provinces, and in all probability was in poſſeſſion of Britain. From his death we are acquainted with no Britiſh occurrence for a ſeries of ſeventeen years; till the reign of Probus, during which the imperial purple was aſſumed by Proculus and Bonoſus (ſaid to be a Briton) who laid claim to this iſland, Spain, and Gaul, and ſeem to have been abetted by the natives of this country; but, their pretenſions ſoon vaniſhed before the fortune of Probus, who (we are told by Vopiſcus) permitted the Britons to cultivate the grape and make wine. But Bonoſus was not the only perſon who raiſed diſturbances in Britain during the life of this emperor. Another proprætor

whose name is not ascertained, having been recommended to the government of this island by Victorinus Maurus, prime-minister and general in chief to Probus, renounced his allegiance, and set up for himself; when Victorinus, ashamed and incensed at the disloyalty of his favourite, came hastily to Britain, where he was affectionately received by the rebellious proprætor, whom he nevertheless assassinated; and the revolt was suppressed by the pretender's death. An. Ch. 282.

Carus, who succeeded to the imperial purple, associated his two sons Carinus and Numerianus, to the first of whom he assigned Britain and other provinces, which were grievously oppressed by that monster of impurity; though he soon gave way to the fortune of Diocletian, a brave and active prince, who admitted Maximian to a share of the empire.

Carausius assumes the purple in Britain.

In the reign of these colleagues, Carausius, a man of mean parentage, by birth a Menapian, or as others affirm a Batavian, having distinguished himself for his bravery and military skill, obtained the command of the Roman navy stationed at Boulogne, to guard the seas against the piracies and ravages of the Franks and Saxons, who about that time infested the coast of Gaul. Though he took a number of prizes while he exercised this office, he neither made restitution to the Roman subjects, who had been plundered, nor remitted any part of the booty to the emperor's treasury; nay it was observed, that he never attacked the pirates, until after they had plundered the coasts, and then he intercepted them when they were laden with the spoils of the country. On account of this conduct, and the great wealth he had amassed, which gave room to suspect him of harbouring more dangerous designs, Maximian Herculius gave orders for apprehending and executing him without delay; but Carausius being apprised of the emperor's intention, secured the fleet in his interest, and sailed for Britain, where

An.Ch.282. he was joyfully received, and proclaimed emperor by the provincial troops, conſiſting of one legion and ſome auxiliary cohorts; a ſure proof of the peace and tranquillity that prevailed throughout the whole iſland; and this favourable reception put him in immediate poſſeſſion of the whole Roman province, as far as the wall of Antoninus, which he repaired and augmented. The next meaſure he took was to conclude an alliance with thoſe Franks and Saxons againſt whom he had formerly acted as admiral: he enliſted a number of their troops, increaſed his fleet with a great addition of ſtout ſhips, and being maſter of Boulogne, ſupplied it with a good garriſon and all manner of neceſſaries, to endure a ſiege with which it was threatened by the emperor Maximian.

Eum. Panegyr. 8.

He found his account in theſe prudential ſteps, which rendered him extremely formidable; and his fleet having obtained a victory over the navy of Maximian, by which he ſecured the dominion of the ſea, the emperors, rather than expoſe the maritime ports of their dominions to the depredations of ſuch a powerful enemy, conſented that he ſhould enjoy one third of the imperial dignity *.

An.Ch.287. By this pacification, Carauſius reigned independent in Britain for the ſpace of ſeven years, during which he maintained the ſovereignty of the main; and is ſaid to have beſtowed Scotland upon the Picts, as a recompence for their fidelity and aſſiſtance: this is the opinion of Geoffry of Monmouth and other Britiſh hiſtorians, who alledge that till this period, the nation of the Picts was never mentioned by any writer whatſoever; but, from comparing the relations of Cæſar, Tacitus,

* This occurrence is authenticated by ſome medals of Diocleſian, Maximian, and Carauſius, having on the reverſe PROVIDENTIA AVGG. & PAX AVGG. S. C. letters which prove that the peace received the ſanction of the ſenate. Vid. Camden's Britannia.

Sue-

Suetonius, Dio, Herodian, and others, who have recorded the tranſactions of this iſland, it plainly appears that the Caledonians and Picts were the ſame people, originally deſcended from the ſouthern Britons, whoſe manners and cuſtoms they retained; and that they were not particularly diſtinguiſhed by the name of Picts, till after the Britons of the ſouth had, from their intercourſe with the Romans, adopted the manners of their conquerors, and laid aſide the practice of painting their bodies, which was ſtill in uſe among the naked Caledonians; ſo that the appellation of Picti was now appropriated to this nation. An.Ch.287.

As the peace between the emperors and Carauſius was the reſult of neceſſity, the troubles of Egypt being appeaſed, and the Parthian and African wars finiſhed, Diocleſian and Maximian Herculius conferred the dignity of Cæſar upon their adopted heirs Maximian Galerus and Conſtantius Chloris, who married their daughters, and then divided the empire into four departments. The ſhare of Conſtantius comprehending all the provinces on this ſide of the Alps, he appeared before Boulogne almoſt as ſoon as the news of his elevation had reached the place; and having reduced the town, he marched againſt the Franks, Cauci, and Friſians, who were in alliance with Carauſius, whom he could not attack in Britain for want of a navy.

Theſe nations he ſubdued and tranſplanted into remote countries, that they might not be near enough to obſtruct the execution of the plan he had formed, for which a number of ſhips were then building under his own immediate direction. But in the mean time the object of his preparations was changed by the death of Carauſius, whom Alectus, one of his own officers, aſſaſſinated, and then aſſumed the imperial purple. Carauſius is aſſaſſinated by Alectus. An.Ch.293.

The

An. Ch. 293. The usurper enjoyed his new dignity for three years, which elapsed before Constantius found himself in a condition to invade the island: but a sufficient navy being provided for that purpose, was divided into two squadrons, stationed at different parts of the continent; in one of which he himself embarked, while the command of the other was bestowed upon Asclepiadotus, an excellent sea-officer, who sailing by the isle of Wight, where the usurper's navy lay, passed unseen, by means of a thick fog, and landed without opposition.

Constantius arrives in Britain,

Constantius arrived at the very spot where Alectus was posted to receive him with an army chiefly composed of Franks and foreigners, who were extremely odious to the Britons; but either dreading to encounter an enemy of such reputation, or infatuated and distracted by the emergency of his situation, he, instead of attacking his enemy before they could be formed on the beach, advanced against Asclepiadotus, who was ready to receive him; and a battle ensuing, he lost the empire and his life; while a terrible slaughter was made among his foreign mercenaries. Those who escaped the carnage in this place, retired to London, with a view to pillage that city, from which they might be transported to the continent in their own ships that still kept the sea; but their design was frustrated by part of the Roman navy, which entering the river Thames, put them all to the sword. Mean while Constantius was received as a deliverer by the Britons, who had groaned under the tyranny of Alectus; and upon this occasion he had a glorious opportunity of exerting his clemency, justice, and discretion.

and is received as a deliverer by the Britons.

He granted a general amnesty in favour of those who had been concerned in the revolt: he ordered restitution and all possible satisfaction to be made to the sufferers; opened the sea, restored commerce,

merce, ſubdued ſome northern nations which had declared themſelves independent during the troubles, and recovered the whole province of Britain, after it had been ten years diſmembered from the empire. An.Ch.296.

Howſoever this iſland might have ſuffered in other reſpects from the tyranny of Carauſius, certain it is, the arts had flouriſhed during his uſurpation; the country was embelliſhed with magnificent ſtructures, and the city of London was already conſiderable for its extent, beauty, and riches: ſo that Conſtantius pitched upon Britain as the place of his reſidence; perhaps he was on this occaſion influenced by his paſſion for the celebrated Helena mother of Conſtantine, and according to ſome authors a native of Colcheſter, while others affirm ſhe was the daughter of Coil, king of the Cumbrian Britons, inhabiting the countries between the walls of Severus and Antoninus. Eum. Pan. 8.

Whatever may have been her family or country, ſhe was certainly a Briton and a woman of rare accompliſhments, who had long ago captivated the heart of Conſtantius, with whom ſhe was united in the bands of wedlock, though he had for reaſons of ſtate been obliged to repudiate her, on his marriage with Theodora daughter of Maximian Herculius, to whom he owed his elevation *. Notwithſtanding this match of convenience, He-

* What ſeems to have miſled ſome authors, who ſay, Helena was the concubine of Conſtantius, was the law that prevailed among the Romans, prohibiting all citizens marrying foreigners of what rank or degree ſoever; and every perſon was deemed a foreigner who had not been admitted to the jus quiritium et civitatis; which was the caſe of the Latins and other Italian nations, before they were naturalized by the Julian law. But though the nuptiæ or connubium could not take effect between a Roman and a foreigner, ſo as to be attended with all the legal privileges of ſuch a union, the matrimonium could be contracted, without any impeachment of the honour and reputation of the parties; and that the marriage between Conſtantius and Helena was deemed valid in this reſpect, appears from the pains taken by Maximian to diſſolve it, before he intermarried with his daughter Theodora.

lena

An.Ch.296. lena ſtill engroſſed his whole affection; and by many public works which ſhe executed at her own expence, and other liberalities, acquired the love and veneration of the Britons to ſuch a degree, that their eſteem amounted almoſt to admiration. Such a companion could not fail to complete the happineſs of Conſtantius, whoſe equitable and wiſe adminiſtration was productive of peace and tranquillity to his ſubjects; and accordingly Britain enjoyed uninterrupted repoſe till his death, which happened at York, the place of his reſidence.

Reigns with great reputation, and dies at York.

An.Ch.306.

His ſon Conſtantine no ſooner heard of his father's indiſpoſition, than he artfully eſcaped from Rome, where he had been detained by the jealouſy of the other emperors, and arrived at York to perform the laſt offices to Conſtantius, who declared him his heir and ſucceſſor in the empire: and his diſpoſition was ſo agreeable to the army, that they proclaimed him emperor immediately after his father's deceaſe.

He is ſucceeded by his ſon Conſtantine,

His firſt care, upon his acceſſion to the throne, was to repel the Picts and Scots, who never failed to make incurſions upon the Roman province, when they thought the imperial dignity uſurped or unſettled by vacancies, factions, or foreign diſputes; and thoſe nations being puniſhed or reduced, he raiſed a conſiderable army to maintain his pretenſions on the continent againſt Maxentius, who had aſſumed the purple, and was actually in poſſeſſion of Rome. The neceſſary preparations being made, he tranſported his forces to Gaul, where he conquered the Franks, who had by this time communicated their name to that country; then marching into Italy at the head of ninety thouſand cavalry, and fourſcore thouſand foot, and gave battle to Maxentius, who was defeated and ſlain.

who defeats Maxentius,

Being now in poſſeſſion of the empire without a rival, he publickly embraced the chriſtian religion,

which he had long espoused in private; and his declaration on this subject was in all probability promoted by the ardour of the British troops, the majority of whom were proselytes to the doctrines of Christianity, which now began to flourish in the conversion of a Roman emperor, who would have done honour to any religion he had professed. He possessed the talents of a Julius, and the liberality of a Titus; he was brave, affable, elegant, equitable, and humane; and so generous, that he often indemnified from his own purse, those very people who had suffered from the impartial administration of justice. Far from sullying by examples of severity the glory of the victory he obtained over Maxentius, he with a magnanimity peculiar to himself, pardoned all who had fought against him, and restored the forfeited estates of his most rancorous enemies: he recalled those who had been exiled by Maxentius, re-established the senate in its antient splendour and authority, and made such wise and effectual regulations to secure the peace and tranquillity of Rome, that in the inscriptions dedicated to his honour he was styled the deliverer of the city, the founder of peace, restorer of the republic, and unanimously saluted by the name of Constantine the Great.

An. Ch. 306. and enjoys the empire without a rival.

Eutrop. Eumen. ubi supra. Zosym. lib. 2.

Britain, as one of the chief provinces of the empire, could not but enjoy that peace and felicity which flowed from the gentle sway of such an emperor, who was a native of the island. He seems to have bestowed a great share of his attention upon the concerns of this nation, which he divided into four governments: namely, the Britannia prima, comprehending the country between the river Thames and the sea: Britannia secunda, consisting of all that lay west of the Severne to the Irish sea: and the additional districts of Flavia Cæsarienſis, and Maxima Cæsarienſis, the first taking in Cornwall,

Constantine makes a new division of Britain.

An.Ch.337. wall, Devonshire, Somersetshire, with part of the counties of Wilts and Glouceſter; and the other including the northern counties of England, with Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Lincolnshire. The adoption of the two Cæſars by the emperors Diocleſian and Maximian, gave riſe to the four præfecti prætorio, who became thenceforward the ſubſtitutes of the imperial power; and the government of Britain falling to the ſhare of the præfect of Gaul, he ruled it by a vicar, who, during the preſent reign, was Pacatianus.

and is ſucceeded by Conſtans on the imperial throne.

Conſtantine the Great dying, after a long reign, the empire was divided among his ſons; and Britain, with France, Spain, and part of Germany, became the portion of his eldeſt ſon of the ſame name; who being ſlain in attempting to invade the territories of his brother Conſtans, his inheritance devolved to the victor, who, in order to repel the Scots and Picts, ſtill turbulent and ready to improve all advantages, came over to Britain in the middle of winter, bringing along with him his brother Conſtantius, who longed to view the country in which his father had firſt ſeen the light. Hiſtory is ſilent as to the management of this war: but, in a little time he forfeited all the reputation he had acquired. His vices ſubjected him to the contempt and deteſtation of his ſubjects, and he was deprived of his crown and life by Magnentius, a Gaul of Britiſh extraction, who preſumed to appropriate the imperial enſigns to himſelf, notwithſtanding the claim of Conſtantius, now the ſole ſurviving ſon of Conſtantine the Great. But the party of this young prince prevailing, after a ſtruggle of three years, the uſurper put an end to his own life at Lyons; and the whole province of Britain acknowledged the authority of the victor, who made a very baſe and impolitic uſe of his good fortune.

He

He erected a court of confiſcation, under the direction of one Paul, a Spaniſh notary, whoſe buſineſs was to proſecute the adherents of Magnentius, and confiſcate their eſtates to the imperial exchequer: a taſk which he performed with abilities peculiar to himſelf; and not contented with depriving them of their property, he committed the moſt violent outrages upon their perſons, condemning them to mines, fetters, impriſonment, tortures, ſlavery, and death*. The barbarity of this inhuman inquiſitor rendered him the object of horror to all the iſlanders; and Martin, the vicar or deputy of the province, not only expoſtulated with him upon his flagrant injuſtice and cruelty, but even threatened to leave the iſland, and make a report of his conduct to the imperial court. As he dreaded nothing more than ſuch a repreſentation, he endeavoured to inveigle the generous Roman into the appearance of a crime, and then ordered him to be put in fetters by virtue of the imperial commiſſion; an indignity, which the other reſented to ſuch a degree, that he drew his ſword and made a thruſt at the Spaniard; but miſſing his aim, turned the point on himſelf, and plunged the weapon into his own boſom. This unlucky accident contributed to the triumph and gratification of Paul's cruelty and avarice. He hied him immediately to the head quarters, beſprinkled with the blood of Martin, as a mark of the conſpiracy formed againſt his life; and on this pretence exhauſted the whole artillery of his malice againſt the friends and kindred of the deceaſed, who were tortured, ſtripped, and baniſhed. This infamous wretch, however, was at laſt overtaken by the vengeance of heaven, and burnt alive in the reign of Julian, the adopted ſucceſſor of Conſtantius.

An. Ch. 357. Britain groans under the tyranny of Paul a Spaniſh notary.

Ammian. Marcellin. l. 14.

* He was called Catena, from his dexterity in trumping up plots and conſpiracies, in which he entangled the unwary. Ammian. Marcell.

Yet

An. Ch. 337. Yet even this domeſtic oppreſſion did not produce any diſturbance in Britain, or hinder the Romans from enjoying the advantage of ſuch a fertile province: for, in one year, they tranſported quantities of corn ſufficient to ſupply their armies and garriſons in Germany; Gaul being too much waſted by continual wars, to furniſh proviſion for ſuch a number of forces. Not but that during this period, ſlight incurſions were made by the Scots and Picts, who came like famiſhed wolves in queſt of prey; but as they returned immediately with the fruits of their rapine, ſuch tranſitory irruptions did not much affect the tranquillity of the province.

Great fertility of the iſland.

Julian, the Apoſtate, ſends a vicar to repel the Picts and Scots.

Nevertheleſs, Julian, afterwards ſurnamed the Apoſtate, who at that time poſſeſſed the government of Gaul, as the adopted Cæſar of Conſtantius, reſolved to bridle the ferocity of thoſe northern nations; and for that purpoſe ſent over Lupicinus, an officer of courage and experience, though rough and haughty in his diſpoſition, with a reinforcement of light-armed cohorts, compoſed of Heruli, Batavi, and Mæſians. Perhaps his chief deſign in diſmiſſing Lupicinus on this expedition, was to free himſelf from a man, whom he conſidered as a ſpy planted upon him by Conſtantius, who, by this time, was jealous of Julian, ſuſpecting, not without reaſon, that he wanted to ingratiate himſelf with the army, ſo as it ſhould declare him emperor; a conjecture juſtified by the ſubſequent conduct of Julian, who, after the departure of Lupicinus, aſſumed the purple, and diſpatched an officer to Boulogne, to prevent the news of this ſtep from being conveyed to Britain; and the vicar actually returned from Gaul, after having ſecured the province, before he received the leaſt intelligence of this affair. As for the weak, indolent Conſtantius, he was engaged in a war with Perſia, which he could not quit, until the enemy retired into their own

own country: then leaving garrisons in the frontier places, he marched towards Thrace, in order to oppose the usurpation of Julian, by whose procurement he is said to have been poisoned in Cilicia. An. Ch. 361.

This usurper, with all his learning and enterprising genius, was wilful and headstrong, and at length fell a sacrifice to his own temerity; for in attempting to carry the war into the heart of Persia, where he could not be supplied with provisions, he lost his own life, and exposed his army to the most imminent danger of perishing by want, which would really have been their fate, had not his successor Jovian redeemed them from destruction, by giving up the provinces and fortified towns that served as a barrier on that side of the empire. His authority, however, was of very short duration; for he died at Dadastene in Bithynia, on his return to Constantinople, and was succeeded by Valentinian, in whose reign the Roman province in Britain was reduced to the verge of ruin, by the invasion and ravages of its northern neighbours *; assisted by An. Ch. 364. The headstrong temerity and fate of this usurper.

* Among those people, who at this period, fell upon the Roman province, Marcellinus mentions the Attacotti, who have been the subject of much dispute and conjecture.--- After all that has been said by Buchanan and the Scottish writers in favour of the antiquity of their nation, it does not appear that the Scots had as yet any established monarchy in Britain, from any of the Greek or Latin authors, who have so accurately described the expeditions undertaken and executed by the greatest captains of antiquity, to the most northern extremities of the island. As for Galgacus, he commanded the army of the Caledonians, otherwise called Picts, a distinct nation from the Scots, with whom they in the sequel maintained a long and bloody war. The Scots then, in all probability, did not migrate from Ireland in any great numbers so as to make settlements, and constitute a monarchy, till towards the year three hundred and sixty; when bursting all at once from their native obscurity, as allies of the Picts or Caledonians, they began to make a powerful figure in the northern parts of Britain: and indeed it is amazing that they should have made any figure at all so early in this island, if (as Mr. Carte labours hard to prove) they were a colony of Scythians and Germans, who had ravaged Europe, in the reign of Galienus, and settled in Galicia, a province of Spain, whence they were, by the orders of Constantine the Great, transplanted to Ireland; part of which only was at that time inhabited by

An. Ch. 364. by the Saxons and Attacotti †; which laſt people are ſuppoſed to have been the Silures, inhabiting the woods and mountains of Wales. Theſe had hitherto been quiet under the dominion of Conſtantine and his deſcendants, whom they conſidered as their countrymen, ſprung from the Britiſh Helena; but now, that the empire was poſſeſſed by a prince of another line, ſevere, punctual, and rigid in his exactions, they revoked their ſubmiſſion, and joining the Meatæ, Caledonians, Scots, and Saxons, infeſted the Roman province with inceſſant incurſions, entering at different places, and in ſeparate bodies. They had already waſted the country in a dreadful manner, and drawn Nectaridius, count of the ſea-coaſt, and Fullofaudes, general of the imperial forces, into an ambuſh that proved fatal to theſe commanders and the greateſt part of their troops.

Ammian. Marc. l. 24.

Valentinian was no ſooner made acquainted with this diſaſter, than he ſent Severus, the ſteward of his houſhold, to reform the abuſes which had crept into the adminiſtration in Britain, and been productive of ſuch dangerous commotions: but this officer's endeavours proving ineffectual, he was recalled, and ſucceeded by Jovinus, who finding it impracticable to reſtore the quiet of the province, without a force ſufficient to ſecure it from the inſults of the enemy, deſired that a ſtrong army might be ſent over, without delay, as the only expedient that could ſave it from ruin. In conſequence of this repreſentation, corroborated with

the Dumnonii, from Devonſhire; and the Brigantes, from Galloway.

The Scots or Scythians muſt have been prolific and enterpriſing indeed, if between the year three hundred and ſix, in which Conſtantine ſucceeded his father, and three hundred and ſixty-four, they not only peopled and conquered Ireland, but alſo poured forth ſuch colonies into Britain, as compoſed a ſeparate and powerful monarchy.

† At a Coit, i. e. apud Sylvas, woodmen, forreſters, or ſavages. Baxt. Brit. Gloſſary.

other accounts deſcribing the deplorable ſituation of this important province, the emperor beſtowed the government of it upon Theodoſius, a general of great experience and conſtant ſucceſs in war, who was diſpatched with a choice body of Roman and auxiliary forces. At his arrival in London, he found the country waſted and over-run by the Franks and Saxons, who had landed on the coaſt oppoſite to Gaul, and were now diſperſed in ſmall bodies, plundering and burning the villages and plantations: he forthwith divided his troops into ſmall detachments, and falling upon thoſe free-booters encumbered with pillage, routed and cut them in pieces, before they had time to re-aſſemble; then reſtoring the ſpoil to the right owners, returned in triumph to London, where he was received as an hero and deliverer.

An. Ch. 364. Valentinian confers the command of Britain upon Theodoſius.

As thoſe he had vanquiſhed were only allies of the nations which this province chiefly dreaded, he reſolved to make preparations for an expedition againſt the Caledonians, and in the mean time endeavoured, by private emiſſaries, to ſow the ſeeds of diſſenſion between them and the Attacotti or Silures. When he enquired into the adminiſtration of the province, he was not at all ſurpriſed to find diſcontent and diſaffection among the people: he therefore promiſed a ſpeedy redreſs of grievances; he publiſhed a general amneſty and pardon to all the revolters who ſhould repair to his ſtandard; ſent for a celebrated juſticiary to preſide in the civil magiſtracy, and appointed Dulcitius, a commander of great reputation, as his lieutenant in the field. Theſe precautions being taken he advanced againſt the Caledonians, who had overſpread the northern parts of the province like a deluge, defeated them in ſeveral encounters, drove them before him into their own country, repaired and rebuilt the forts and caſtles they had damaged and demoliſhed;

He defeats the Caledonians,

An.Ch.364. demoliſhed; and by convincing them of his ſuperiority over them in the arts and operations of war, paved the way for an honourable and laſting peace.

In the midſt of all his glory and ſucceſs, he had well nigh fallen a ſacrifice to a conſpiracy hatched by one Valentinus, a native of Pannonia, who had been, for his turbulent ſpirit and deſperate ambition, baniſhed to Britain, which was at that time a general place of exile; there aſſociating with outlaws of the ſame ſtamp, he formed the deſign of ſeizing the government, and had already debauched a good number of ſoldiers from their allegiance.

and re-eſtabliſhes the quiet and ſecurity of the Roman province.

Theodoſius being informed of theſe machinations, ordered the ringleaders to be delivered into the hands of juſtice; and theſe being executed, he exhibited a noble proof of his moderation and ſagacity, in ſuppreſſing all further enquiry concerning the accomplices; which might have produced dangerous convulſions, at a time when his maſter's authority was far from being eſtabliſhed in this iſland. Having preſerved the public tranquillity by this prudent method of proceeding, he was left at liberty to provide for the ſecurity of the barrier: he repaired the walls, repeopled the cities, reinforced the garriſons, and reſtored the antient diſcipline of the army. The country lying between the walls of Severus and Lollius Urbicus, he erected into a ſeparate province, which was denominated Valentia, after the reigning emperor, and ruled by a diſtinct deputy; and laſtly, he puniſhed an order of men called Areani, who, though inſtituted to give notice of the enemy's motions, had lately acted as ſpies for the barbarians. The peace and ſecurity of the Roman government being thus reeſtabliſhed, he retired to the continent, and was received by the emperor with all the honours due to his merit and ſervices; which the ſenate likewiſe acknowledged, by decreeing a ſtatue to be erected

erected to his memory, and placed among those of their most illustrious ancestors. An.Ch.364.

Though we do not know the particular methods he took to accomplish those great ends, we are assured by Claudian, and Latinus Pacatus Drepanius, in his panegyric upon this great man, that he prevailed upon Valentinian to lighten the exorbitant tribute which had been imposed upon the Britons; and equipped a powerful navy, with which he maintained the empire of the sea, and in particular scoured the German and Hyperborean oceans of those Saxon fleets which had done such mischief on almost all the coasts of Europe. Britain, thus secured from external insults, and settled within herself on an happy footing, by the wise regulations of Theodosius, enjoyed some years of peace and felicity, until ambition intervened to disturb her quiet, and she laid the foundation of her own ruin, by espousing the cause of an usurper. Panegyr. Theod. Zosym. l. 4.

Valentinian dying, was succeeded in the western empire by Gratian, a young voluptuary, who neglected the affairs of the state, and was so unhappy in the choice of his favourites, that he admitted a few renegado Alani into his confidence, and employed them in affairs of the utmost importance, without any regard to his own officers, who resented his neglect, and waited only for a convenient opportunity to manifest their discontent. The Roman army in Britain was at that time commanded by a general, who did not fail to encourage this disposition. His name was Maximus, and being by birth a Spaniard, he pretended to be a relation of Theodosius: he possessed many good qualities, by which he had acquired the love and esteem of the soldiery; but these were all sullied by his ambition. Gratian succeeds to the western empire. An.Ch.375.

He had served in Britain with reputation, and when Gratian declared Theodosius, son of this great general, Maximus declared emperor in Britain.

An.Ch.375. general, emperor of the Eaſt, he thought himſelf as worthy of the imperial dignity, becauſe he and the other had maintained the ſame rank in the army. Finding the ſoldiers averſe to Gratian's government, and ripe for any revolution, he took advantage of the influence he had acquired among them, and ſuffered himſelf to be declared emperor. In this quality he conciliated the affections of the Britons, by taking the field and vigorouſly repulſing the Picts and Scots, who had renewed their ravages, according to their conſtant practice in the beginning of a new emperor's reign. Nay, he took a more effectual method to ſecure the Roman province from any future invaſion: he found means to detach the Picts from their alliance with the Scottiſh nation; which laſt was ſo hard preſſed by a new confederacy of the Romans, Britons, and their old friends the Caledonians, that it was obliged to abandon the iſland and take ſhelter in Ireland and the leſſer Britiſh iſles, while a good part fled for refuge to the continent.

All the Scottiſh hiſtorians deſcribe this revolution; which (if it really happened) ſeems much more likely to have been effected by Theodoſius than by this Maximus, whoſe reſidence in Britain, after he had aſſumed the purple, was of too ſhort a duration, to juſtify the ſuppoſition of having brought about ſuch a remarkable event. Whatever may have been his efforts and ſucceſs on this occaſion, he certainly believed himſelf too firmly eſtabliſhed upon the throne, to dread the power of any competitor; and unhappily for this iſland, reſolved to aſſert his claim upon the continent. For this purpoſe he raiſed a conſiderable army of Britons, joined to the Roman forces withdrawn from the barrier; and embarking them on board of his fleet, ſet ſail for the mouth of the Rhine, where he was immediately joined by the legions quartered in that neighbourhood,

Drains the province of its beſt men, and paſſes over to the continent.

bourhood, and his title acknowledged by all the Roman troops in Germany. In all probability he would not have found himſelf in a condition to ſupport his pretenſions, by means of ſuch a Britiſh army, had not he recommended himſelf to the inhabitants of this iſland, in an eſpecial manner, by eſpouſing Helena, the daughter of Cadvan, a conſiderable chieftain of North-Wales; an alliance by which he acquired the intereſt of her relations, who hoped, in his ſon Victor, once more to ſee a prince of Britiſh blood upon the imperial throne. An. Ch. 375. Mon. antiq. p. 167.

Gratian began his march at the head of a ſtrong army againſt the uſurper, who with the purple had aſſumed the name of Flavius Clemens Maximus; but being betrayed by his generals, and deſerted by his troops, this unfortunate emperor fled towards Lyons, and was ſlain by Andragatius: ſo that the other remained in quiet poſſeſſion of the weſtern empire, which he might have enjoyed in tranquillity, could he have curbed the inſolence of his diſpoſition, and ſoothed, inſtead of irritating Theodoſius; for, his good fortune enabled him likewiſe to drive Valentinian out of Italy. Zoſymus, l. 4.

That prince, far from being intimidated by his threats and ſucceſs, advanced againſt him with an army of veterans, accuſtomed to conquer under his command, defeated him in two pitched battles, and taking him near Aqueleia, cauſed him to be put to death, after he had five years uſurped the imperial dignity. Then he reverſed and annulled all the edicts publiſhed, and honours conferred by Maximus; and reſtored Valentinian to the imperial ſovereignty of the weſtern empire. Andragathius, who commanded a fleet in the Mediterranean, no ſooner received the news of theſe events, than he threw himſelf over-board in deſpair; Victor, who had been declared Cæſar, and reſided in Gaul, was ſlain by Arbogaſtes, and the Britiſh forces, left for Maximus is vanquiſhed and put to death by order of Theodoſius.

An.Ch.387. the security of his person and government, retired to the sea-coast, and settled in Armorica, which is now known by the name of Bretagne *. Be that as it will, Theodosius, in the midst of all his hurry and occupation, did not neglect the affairs of Britain, to which he sent over Chrysantus, who, in the station of vicar-general or deputy, put a stop to the depredations of the Scots, and acquired great glory by his wise administration in this island.

The Roman empire was, after several revolutions of government, at last united in the person of Theodosius; and that prince left it divided between his two sons Arcadius and Honorius; Britain, as part of the western division, falling to the latter, as yet a minor under the tuition of Stilico. This minister took immediate measures for curbing the insolence of the North Britons, who had now for the second time fallen upon the unfurnished province, since Maximus departed with the troops that used to defend the barrier.

The South Britons, thus left naked to the ravages of the enemy, had already sued for succours to the Romans, who sent a reinforcement for their relief †. Upon the second irruption of the Picts and Scots, they made another application of the same nature to Stilico, who sent Victorinus to their assistance; and this general drove the invaders beyond the wall of Severus: but the provincial Britons did not long

Stilico sends Victorinus to command the British province.

* This settlement, concerning which the Greek and Latin authors are silent, is mentioned by Carte, on the testimony of a British writer called Lhowarch-Hen, prince of Cumberland, who lived within one hunded and forty years of this period.

† Neil Nao Gaillac, chief of the Irish monarchs, is said to have landed in the west of England, at this period, and to have ravaged the country as far as the sea-coast opposite to Gaul; and it was in order to repel this invader, that Stilico sent a legion into Britain. Nor was this the first time the Irish had attacked those parts of the island that were under the dominion of the Romans; for, in a former descent they had taken St. Patrick prisoner, in the sixteenth year of his age, in the province of Valentia, not far from Arecluyd or Dunbritton.

Sacrat. Hist. Ecclesiæ.

enjoy

enjoy the fruit of this general's care and ſucceſs; for in a few years, Rome itſelf being threatened by the Goths, Stilico was obliged to recal the troops from Britain, in order to preſerve the capital itſelf from the arms of thoſe barbarians. An.Ch.387.

This was an opportunity which the North Britons did not fail to ſeize: no longer awed by the neighbourhood of the Roman forces, they renewed their incurſions in ſuch a torrent, that the diſpirited Britons, unable to withſtand their impetuoſity, had recourſe to Honorius, whom they ſollicited for aſſiſtance, while his own officers in the province laid before him the deſperate ſtate of his affairs in Britain. In anſwer to theſe repreſentations they received nothing but a letter from the emperor, exhorting them to take arms for their own defence, inaſmuch as he could not at that time afford them a reinforcement.

Bereft of all hopes from that quarter, the Britons reſolved to erect themſelves into an independent government, and proceeded to the election of an emperor; which was determined in favour of one Marcus, who diſappointing their expectation was put to death by his conſtituents: then their choice fell upon Gratian, a native of the country: who, after a reign of four months, underwent the fate of his predeceſſor, and was ſucceeded by Conſtantine, who wanted neither talents, activity, nor reſolution. The Britons chuſe emperors of their own.

His firſt care was to raiſe a ſtrong body of the natives, for the ſecurity of the kingdom againſt the inroads of the barbarians; and had he confined his ſway within the limits of the province, he might have reigned with great tranquillity and reputation; but, his ambition overleaped ſuch narrow boundaries, and he reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the whole weſtern empire: for this purpoſe, he, in imitation of Conſtantius, whom he reſembled in

An.Ch.387. character and fortune, enrolled in his army all the Britiſh youth that were able to carry arms; and landing with them at Boulogne, had the pleaſure to ſee his cauſe eſpouſed by all the imperial forces in Gaul and Germany. On this occaſion he conferred the title of Cæſar on his eldeſt ſon Conſtans, whom he ſent into Spain, which was eaſily reduced.

Conſtantine is routed by Sarus.

Not but that his father received ſome checks in the courſe of his expedition; his army was routed by Sarus, whom Stilico ſent to oppoſe his progreſs, and he himſelf purſued and beſieged in the city of Valence in Dauphiné; but he was relieved by the approach of Edobechus a Frank, and Gerontius a Briton, who had marched to his aſſiſtance; and Sarus obliged to retire with precipitation. He afterwards found means to engage Alavichus, the chief general of Honorius, in a plot to betray his maſter, and in confidence of its ſucceſs advanced as far as Verona; but the conſpiracy being detected, and the traitor put to death, he returned to Gaul with great confuſion and diſgrace. By this time he had diſobliged his beſt friend Gerontius, who ſet up Maximus, a kinſman of his own, for emperor; and heading a body of barbarians that hovered about the Pyrenees, attacked and ſlew Conſtans at Vienne: then he proceeded againſt Conſtantiné, whom he inveſted in the city of Arles; but, Conſtantius arriving at that juncture with the army of Honorius, he was deſerted by his troops, and reduced to the neceſſity of taking away his own life. Nor did Conſtantine reap any advantage from his death; for the army of Germans brought by Edovicus to his relief, being routed by Conſtantius, he endeavoured to ſave his life by receiving holy orders and profeſſing the prieſthood; but notwithſtanding this expedient, he was apprehended and put to death by order of the emperor Honorius.

Put to death by order of Honorius. An.Ch.411. Cod. Theod. Chron. l. i.

After

After the death of Honorius, who was ſucceeded in the empire by his nephew Valentinian III. the Picts and Scots ſeeing the ſouthern parts of Britain altogether defenceleſs, reſolved to make a conqueſt of the whole country, and ſettle it with their own people; for there was at this time no garriſon in Britain, the legion formerly ſent by Honorius to their relief having been recalled. The Britons, having received advice of this intended invaſion, importuned Valentinian, with the moſt lamentable petitions for aſſiſtance; and Ætius his general, who commanded in Gaul, dreading the irreparable loſs of that province, ſupplied them with another legion, which defeated the Picts and Scots, in ſeveral encounters, reſcued the captives they had made, and not only expelled them from South Britain, but even drove them beyond the fartheſt limits of Valentia, which was conſidered as part of the Roman province. After this ſucceſsful expedition they returned in triumph to the continent, having firſt adviſed the Britons to rebuild and refortify the wall of Antoninus, between the friths of Forth and Clyde.

An.Ch.411.

The Scots and Picts defeated by a Roman legion.

This forlorn people, however, had been ſo drained of their artiſts by Maximus and Conſtantine, who tranſported all their able workmen to the continent, that they could not repair the wall * with any other materials than ſods and turf; nor indeed could it have been of great ſervice, had they been able to execute it in a more maſterly manner, as the Scots had by this time plenty of ſmall veſſels, which they learned from the Iriſh to manage with

The Romans abandon the iſland. An.Ch.446.

* We are told by Fordun the Scottiſh hiſtorian, that this wall was demoliſhed by one Graim, who after the death of Fergus, who had married his daughter, acted as regent of the kingdom during the minority of his grandſon. The wall, he ſays, began at a village called Karedin, and extending two and twenty miles acroſs the iſthmus, ended near Kirkpatrick on the river Clyde; and was after this irruption diſtinguiſhed by the name of Graim's dyke, which it retains to this day.

great

An.Ch.446. great dexterity. By means of these they wafted themselves over the friths in shoals, and diffused terror and desolation over the whole country; so that the Britons again applied to Rome for relief, and were again assisted by a single legion, which, under the command of Gallio, compelled the enemy to retire with rout and confusion. But, the Roman empire on the continent being by this time overspread with an inundation of barbarous people from the North, the emperor could not afford to leave any part of his troops in Britain; and Gallio was recalled immediately after he had repulsed the enemy. This general, however, did not forsake the Britons, until he had prevailed upon them to contract themselves within the confines of England, leaving the district of Valentia, which they could not defend, as a bone of contention to their northern enemies; and convinced them of the necessity of repairing the wall of Severus, which was by this time lined with cities from sea to sea: he at the same time advised them to build castles on those parts of the coast at which they chiefly apprehended invasions, and having furnished them with patterns by which they might fabricate arms for their own defence, he took his last farewell of Britain, to which the Romans never returned *.

Bede, l. i.

* Before we take our leave of the Romans, the reader will not be displeased to see a list of the several civil and military officers and magistrates appointed for the maintenance of the Roman government in Britain; extracted from the Notitia published by Pancirollus.

Under the Vicegerent of Britain, were the consular governors of Maxima Cæsarienfis and Valentia; and the presidial governors of Britannia prima; Britannia secunda; Flavia Cæsarienfis.

The Vicegerent's count was composed of

A principal officer of the agents, chosen out of the Ducenarii, or under-officers.

A principal clerk or secretary.

Two chief accomptants or auditors.

A chief jailor.

A notary.

A secretary for dispatches.

An

An assistant or surrogate.
Under-assistants.
Clerks for appeals.
Serjeants and other inferior officers.

Under the Count of the Saxon shore in Britain were,

The commander of a detachment of Fortenses, at Othona.
The commander of the Tungrian soldiers, at Dover.
The commander of a detachment of Tournay soldiers, at Lyme.
The commander of the Dalmatian horse, stiled Branodunensis, at Brancaster in Norfolk.
The commander of the Stablesian horse, stiled Gariannonensis, at Burrough-castle near Yarmouth.
The tribune of the first cohort of Vetasians, at Reculver.
The commander of the second legion, called Augusta, at Richborough.
The commander of a detachment of the Abulci, at Anderida.
The commander of a detachment of scouts, at Portsmouth.

The court of the Count consisted of

A principal officer from the court of the general of foot, in ordinary attendance.
Two auditors from the same.
A master jailor from the same.
A clerk.
An assistant.
An under-assistant.
A register.
Clerks of appeals.
Serjeants and other officers.

Under the government of the Count of Britain.

The province of Britain.

The court consisting of

A principal officer from the court of the general of foot, in ordinary attendance, relieved yearly.
A master-jailor.
Two auditors from the courts above-mentioned.
An assistant.
An under-assistant.
Clerks of appeals.
Serjeants and other officers.

Under the government of the Duke of Britain.

The præfect of the sixth legion, at York.
The præfect of the Dalmatian horse, at Broughton in Lincolnshire.
The præfect of the Crispian horse, at Doncaster.
The præfect of a body of Cuirassiers, at Templeburgh.
The præfect of a detachment of the Barcarii Tigrisiensis, at Moresby.
The præfect of a detachment of the Nervii, called Dictensis, at Ambleside.
The præfect of a detachment of soldiers, employed on the watch at Kendal.
The præfect of a detachment of scouts, at Bowes.
The præfect of a detachment, stiled Directores, at Brugh.
The præfect of a detachment, called Defensores, at Overborough.
The præfect of a detachment of Solenses, at Greta-Bridge.
The præfect of a detachment of Pacenses, at Piera-Bridge.
The præfect of a detachment of Longovicarii, at Lancaster.
The præfect of a detachment, stiled Derventionensis, at a station on the river Derwent, and along the line of the wall.
The tribune of the fourth cohort of the Lergi, at Cousinshouse.
The tribune of a cohort of the Cornovii, at Newcastle.
The præfect of the first wing of the Asti, at Benwell-hill.
The tribune of the first cohort of the Frisagi, at Rutchester.

The

The præfect of the wing ſtiled Saviniani, at Halton-cheſters.
The præfect of the ſecond wing of the Aſti, at Walwick-cheſters.
The tribune of the firſt cohort of the Batavi, at Carrawbrugh.
The tribune of the firſt cohort of the Tungri, at Houſe-ſteeds.
The tribune of the fourth cohort of the Gauls, at Little-cheſters.
The tribune of the firſt cohort of the Aſti, at Great-cheſters.
The tribune of the ſecond cohort of Dalmatians, at Carvoran.
The tribune of the firſt cohort of Dacians, called Aelia, at Burdoſwald.
The præfect of the wing called Petriana, at Cambeck-fort.
The præfect of a detachment of Moors, ſtiled Aureliani, at Watch-croſs.
The tribune of the ſecond cohort of the Lergi, at Stanwicks.
The tribune of the firſt cohort of Spaniards, at Brugh.
The tribune of the ſecond cohort of Thracians, at Drumbrugh.
The tribune of the firſt marine cohort, ſtiled Aelia, at Boulneſs.
The tribune of the firſt cohort of the Morini, at Lancheſter.
The tribune of the third cohort of the Nervii, at Whitley Caſtle.
A body of men in armour, at Old Penrith, or Brampton.
The præfect of the firſt wing, called Herculea, at Old Carliſle, or Elenborough.
The tribune of the ſixth cohort of the Nervii, at the ſame place.

The Duke's court was compoſed of

A principal officer from the courts of the generals, in ordinary attendance, changed yearly.
Chief jailors from both.
Auditors yearly from both.
An aſſiſtant.
Under-aſſiſtant.
Regiſter.
Clerks of appeals.
Serjeants and other officers.

F. Hayman inv.t et del.

The Druids, or the Conversion of ye Britons to Christianity

Of the CHURCH.

BEfore we close this important period of the British history, we shall give a succinct detail of the progress which the Christian religion had made from its first dawn in this island to the present time, when the country was finally abandoned by the Romans. As for the account given by William of Malmesbury, concerning the translation of Joseph of Arimathea to the church of Glassenbury, it bears such palpable marks of imposture, that we shall reject it as a monkish fable, unworthy of refutation. Nevertheless, that the seeds of Christianity were sown in Britain, even in the most early age of the church, appears from the testimony of Eusebius, an inquisitive writer, in great credit with the first emperor Constantine. He positively says that the apostles crossed the ocean, and arrived at the British isles; and Theodoret, who was a bishop in the fifth century, expressly mentions the Britons as a people whom St. Paul converted to Christianity. An assertion that seems to be justified by Clemens Romanus cotemporary with the apostles, who gives us to understand that St. Paul preached to the utmost bounds of the West, the common expression applied in those times to the British islands. Whether this great propagator of the gospel was ever personally in this country, or (which is more probable) sent hither some of his disciples to preach the doctrines of his master, we may fairly conclude, that this religion had gained a number of proselytes, as early as the defeat of Bonduica by Suetonius for, Pomponia Græcina, wife of Aulus Plautius the legate of Claudius, had embraced it, and (as we are informed by Tacitus) was accused of foreign superstition. The example of a lady in such distinguished

The gospel preached in Britain, even in the earliest times of Christianity.

an. Ch. 61. Vid. N°. 2. P. 61.

Embraced by two ladies of distinguished rank.

tinguiſhed rank, profeſſing a religion ſo pure and benevolent, could hardly fail to extend the doctrine among the Britons, who were noted alike for innocence and docility. Nor was this in all likelihood the only fair patroneſs of this religion in Britain; for, there is great reaſon to believe that the Claudia mentioned by St. Paul in his epiſtles, was the ſame Britiſh lady afterwards celebrated by the poet Martial; inaſmuch as the apoſtle, in his ſecond epiſtle to Timothy, takes notice of Claudia and Pudens: and Martial names this very Pudens as the huſband of Claudia Rufina. Theſe, however were only private converts to a new doctrine, which was not yet in a condition to cope with the eſtabliſhed religion of the country; and though Tertullian, who flouriſhed in the reign of Caracalla, ſays that Chriſtianity had made its way into Britain, we are not to ſuppoſe the country in general was converted; for we learn from Ziphilin, that the promiſcuous uſe of venery ſtill prevailed among the better ſort of the inhabitants *.

We are informed by Bede, that in the reign of Marcus Antonius Verus and his brother Aurelius Commodus, while Eleutherus was biſhop of Rome, that Lucius king of the Britons ſent an epiſtle to this pope, requeſting his converſion to Chriſtianity might receive the ſanction of his holineſs; that he ſoon reaped the fruit of his pious ſollicitation; and that his ſubjects preſerved the faith inviolate in peace, till the reign of Diocleſian.

Conjectures about Lucius.

Though ſome authors deny that ever any ſuch prince exiſted, becauſe he is not mentioned by the Greek and Latin authors who have recorded the

* The wife of a Britiſh prince named Argentocoxus, being rallied by the empreſs Julia, about the libertiniſm of the ladies in Britain, who granted favours promiſcuouſly to different men, "True, ſays ſhe, we pique ourſelves on obliging men of merit, and do with the braveſt in public what you practiſe with the baſeſt in private."

tranſ-

tranſactions of thoſe times, the contrary opinion is ſupported by ſome antient coins found in Cumberland and Durham, exhibiting a repreſentation of a croſs, with the letters LVC; and Monſieur Bauterue gives us the print of another, repreſenting a man's head; and on the reverſe a boar and a ſtar, the inſcription LVCIO. Theſe circumſtances indeed amount to no more than a bare probability; and that repreſentation of the croſs, on a medal ſtruck ſo early as the reign of Commodus, ſmells ſtrong of monkiſh impoſition.

Diocleſian raiſes a perſecution againſt the Chriſtians.

We do not find that the Chriſtians in Britain were moleſted in the exerciſe of religion till the reign of Diocleſian, who being of a jealous diſpoſition, and fearing that the progreſs of Chriſtianity would interfere with his authority, raiſed a dreadful perſecution againſt all the profeſſors of this doctrine: a large ſhare of the calamity fell upon Britain, in which the celebrated St. Alban ſuffered martyrdom, in the manner related by Bede; and this was alſo the fate of a great many others, among whom Aaron and Julius are particularly mentioned. This perſecution raged in the beginning of the fourth century, and ceaſed when the government of Britain fell into the hands of Conſtantius Chlorus, who was favourable to the Britons, and not only encouraged them to come forth from the woods and caves in which they had lurked in the preceding reign, but alſo permitted them to rebuild their churches, and renew the rites of the Chriſtian worſhip, which they enjoyed without diſturbance until they were infected with the Arian hereſy.

Britiſh biſhops aſſiſt at the council of Arles.

That the church was eſtabliſhed in this iſland, ſoon after the beginning of the fourth century, plainly appears from the hiſtory of the council of Arles, to which three Britiſh biſhops ſubſcribed, by the names of Eborius, Reſtitutus, and Adelfius de civitate coloniæ Londinenſium. The two firſt

an. Ch. 296. Vid. Nº 2. P. 91.

were the prelates of York and London, and the laſt is by Uſher ſuppoſed to have been biſhop of Colcheſter, though in all probability he ruled the dioceſe of Lincoln, which was called Colonia Lindi; and this laſt word, by a miſtake in the tranſcriber, converted into Londinenſium. The decrees of this council were ſent by the ſubſcribing biſhops, to the popé at Rome; but, far from addreſſing him as the ſovereign of the church and vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, they give him no other epithet in their letter than that of Dear brother: after having obſerved that they were all united in one bond of charity and love, they ſay they were at the deſire of their pious emperor aſſembled at Arles, where they ſhould have been glad to meet their brother the biſhop of Rome; but, ſince they could not enjoy that comfort, they had ſent an abſtract of their canons, which he might publiſh through his whole dioceſe.

They are ſummoned to the council of Nice, an. ch. 306. Vid. N°2. P. 92.

As the Britiſh biſhops aſſiſted at this aſſembly, we cannot doubt but that they were alſo ſummoned to the ſucceeding council of Nice, which was convoked by Conſtantine, who could not be ſuppoſed to overlook his own countrymen on ſuch an occaſion; though we do not know the preciſe number of thoſe who went thither, nor indeed of thoſe who were eſtabliſhed in Britain. We ſhall only obſerve, that all the prelates were conveyed, at the emperor's charge, to this council; which, among other decrees, eſtabliſhed the right of eccleſiaſtical election and juriſdiction in the biſhops, as well as the authority of provincial ſynods; and exempted metropolitans from the juriſdiction of the biſhops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. Nor, indeed, is there any one inſtance in thoſe days, of a pope's conſecrating Britiſh biſhops, ſummoning them to councils, hearing their cauſes, receiving appeals, or exerciſing any legatine authority within the Britiſh dominions.

The

The biſhops of Britain were likewiſe preſent at the council of Sardis, convened on account of Athanaſius, who had been condemned by the eaſtern biſhops. It was at this period that the Roman ſee began to gain ground, and ſome decrees of the council ſeem to favour its uſurpation. Yet even theſe very decrees prove, that it had no original ſuperiority; otherwiſe to what purpoſe were they now made? Beſides, this council, called Sardica, was guilty of divers unwarrantable practices; nor was it ever deemed œcumenical by the Chriſtian church. As for the council of Ariminum, held in the middle of the fourth century, it was infected with Arianiſm; but for the honour of our country, it appears from the fragments of Hillary, that the Gallican and Britiſh biſhops aſſembling at Paris, after the council of Ariminum, renounced the decrees of that heretical aſſembly, and confirmed the doctrines of the Nicene faith. Let it alſo be remembered, for the glory of that pure and primitive church, that three of the Britiſh prelates, aſſiſting at this council, were obliged to accept of the emperor's allowance, becauſe they were not able to defray the expence of their own maintenance, and too conſcientious to live upon their brethren.

Are preſent at the council of Sardis and Ariminum.

Though our biſhops were extremely orthodox at this juncture, Britain was not altogether devoid of free-thinkers; for, in the courſe of this very century, ſhe produced the noted Pelagius, whoſe real name is ſaid to have been Morgan. He was a man of acute diſcernment, and great ſubtlety in reaſoning. His doctrine, which at firſt got footing in Gaul, was thence imported into this country, where it met with a favourable reception, and in all probability was the more readily embraced, as the author of it was a Briton, and a perſon of unblemiſhed morals, and as it contained nothing repugnant

Pelagius a native of Britain.

pugnant to common ſenſe, or the fundamental principles of the chriſtian religion *.

Nevertheleſs, the progreſs of this hereſy alarmed the Gallican church to ſuch a degree, that they ſent over two eminent biſhops to reclaim thoſe who had imbibed ſuch dangerous errors, and to confirm the reſt of the nation in their adherence to the true faith. Theſe venerable miſſionaries were joyfully received by the clergy, and a public diſputation enſued at Verolam, where the heretics were confuted, to the unſpeakable ſatisfaction of all orthodox believers.

Bede, l. i, c. 17.

* He maintained that man might be righteous without the aſſiſtance of grace, which was beſtowed in proportion to his virtue; that man could arrive at a ſtate of perfection in which he could be no longer ſubject to paſſion or to ſin; that there is no original ſin; and that infants dying before baptiſm will not be damned.

BRITONS

BRITONS AND SAXONS.

AFTER the departure of the Romans from this iſland, the Britons, like an helpleſs family deprived of their parent and protector, reſigned themſelves to their fate with a liſtleſſneſs of deſpondence, that denoted their degeneracy from the valour of their anceſtors. Far from practiſing the leſſons they had received from Gallio, they aggravated their misfortunes with unavailing complaints, which ſerved only to augment and propagate their deſpair; and when they were driven to the neceſſity of making immediate efforts for their preſervation, they acted with ſuch ſloth, ſtupidity, and diſtraction, as entirely defeated the purpoſes of their labour. The Romans had long ago deprived them of their princes, deſtroyed the power and independency of their clanſhips, aboliſhed their old laws, cuſtoms, and religion, gradually diſſolved the ties of ſubordination and attachment, by which their antient dynaſties ſubſiſted; and altered the whole form of their conſtitution. All thoſe who had been concerned in the adminiſtration were foreigners, by whom they were now deſerted; ſo that they found themſelves in the condition of a ſhip deprived of her pilot, expoſed to the mercy of the next tempeſt that may chance to blow. All their warriors had been tranſported into foreign countries, where they ſhed their blood in the cauſe of ſtrangers, while ruin poured over their own country, which their valour might have ſaved. In a word, they had no chief of influence and capacity ſufficient to unite their councils, regulate their deſigns, and exert that authority which alone could oblige them to take proper meaſures for the ſafety of the common-weal. They were deſtitute of artiſts,

An. Ch. 446.

The helpleſs and forlorn ſituation of the Britons.

An. Ch. 446. and even of materials for the fabric of weapons to annoy the foe, and ſo accuſtomed to range over their foreſts, heaths, and mountains, that when cooped up in forts and caſtles they drooped and languiſhed like captives in confinement, and ſeemed to loſe all ſenſe of glory, and all ſpirit of oppoſition.

This defection was no ſecret to their enemies, whoſe views and ambition dilated accordingly. The union of the Picts and Scots, which was formerly the caſual junction of petty clans, without order, diſcipline, or preconcerted deſign, had now become a powerful confederacy of two warlike nations. Fergus, whom the Scottiſh writers call the ſecond of that name, had arrived from Denmark in Braidalbin, with a great multitude of his countrymen, who were formerly expelled from Britain *; and to him reſorted an infinite concourſe of people from Ireland, who tranſported themſelves in their curroghs, or ſmall boats, to Argyle, which was the country firſt poſſeſſed in Britain by thoſe adventurers. Far from being moleſted or oppoſed in this migration by the Picts, it had been previouſly concerted with thoſe people, who foreſaw in ſuch a junction the conqueſt of the whole iſland, or at leaſt the recovery of the province called Valentia, lying between the walls of Antoninus and Severus,

* Giraldus Cambrenſis ſays, that in the reign of Neil Nacgaillic, ſix ſons of Maud, king of Ulſter, ſailed from Ireland with a large fleet to the north parts of Britain, where they ſettled with the Scots who followed them in the expedition; and Uſher is of opinion, that the eldeſt of thoſe princes was Reuda, from whom this colony derived the name of Delreudini. They ſettled long before this period, in Cantire, Knapdale, and Lorn, to the north weſt of the frith of Clyde and caſtle of Dunbritton, which was the ſtrongeſt fortreſs of the Britons inhabiting Strathcluyd; and were occaſionally reinforced from their native country, ſo as to become ſix powerful clans, who probably joined the Picts, and fought as their allies, under their own independent chieftains, without being ſubject to any ſupreme ſovereign, until they were all united under the monarchy of Fergus, the ſon of Erc. Top. Hibern. Diſt. 3.

which

which had formerly belonged to them and their allies. They had (as we have already obſerved) united their forces, and on divers occaſions committed terrible depredations on the Britons; but had as often been repulſed by the valour of the Romans: and Fergus had actually loſt his life in one of thoſe engagements, leaving a minor to ſucceed him on the throne; ſo that, in all probability, nothing of moment would have happened during the minority of this prince, had not the departure of the Romans, and the well-known imbecillity of the ſouthern Britons, encouraged them with the hopes of an eaſy conqueſt. An.Ch.446.

Elevated with theſe conceptions, they took the field in vaſt numbers, and conſidering the Britons as their aſſured prey, ſpread themſelves all over Lothian, in which they met with no oppoſition. Having then divided the ſpoil and the lands, according to the previous agreement and diſpoſition they had made, they penetrated into England, and renewed their attacks upon the wall, which was ſo poorly defended by the Britons, that, inſtead of uſing battering rams or other military engines for effecting a breach, they pulled down the inactive defenders with iron hooks, and then undermined the fortification at their leiſure. Having thus opened to themſelves a paſſage, they ravaged the whole country with impunity, while the Britons fled before them to the woods and mountains; and as the lands could not be cultivated in ſuch times of danger and diſtreſs, a dreadful famine enſued; ſo that their condition became truly deplorable. They are invaded by the Scots and Picts, who demoliſh the wall of Severus.

In this emergency they had recourſe to Ætius, the celebrated general of Valentinian, who had with great difficulty, by the dint of vaſt abilities, both as a politician and an officer, prevented his maſter's empire from being over-run and deſtroyed The Britons ſollicit Ætius for aſſiſtance.

An.Ch.447. by the Huns and other barbarians, whom he had routed in ſeveral encounters.

This gleam of ſucceſs encouraged the Britons to hope that ſome regard would be paid to their addreſs, which is ſaid to have run in this miſerable ſtrain: "To Ætius, thrice conſul, the groans of "the Britons—The barbarians drive us to the ſea. "The ſea drives us back to the barbarians; and "between both, we have the wretched alternative "of being murthered, or drowned!" — Such, however, were the calamities of the Romans themſelves, ſurrounded by myriads of ſavage nations threatening to ſwallow up their empire, that they could yield no aſſiſtance to the unhappy Britons; who finding themſelves totally abandoned, began to collect courage from deſpair. Some of them indeed were ſo abject as to throw themſelves upon the mercy of the enemy, to whom they ſubmitted; but by far the greateſt part who had retired to their mountains and moraſſes, became inured to hardſhips, which ſteeled their bodies, while they ſtimulated their revenge. Convinced of the miſchiefs that flow from diſunion, they endeavoured to erect an authority under which they might act with more vigour and unanimity: but, thoſe among them who had any ſort of title to this preheminence, were ſo factious, turbulent, and contentious, that no ſooner was a general or chief elected, than he fell a ſacrifice to the ambition of his rivals. Nevertheleſs, they made ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies upon their invaders, who were actually repulſed by thoſe efforts of reſentment and deſpair; and had they known how to maintain and improve the advantages they gained, they would have had no occaſion to call in auxiliaries to their aſſiſtance. But, an extraordinary abundance ſucceeding the famine by which they had ſo grievouſly ſuffered, they indulged themſelves in riot and debauchery;

ſo

so that their minds became enervate, and they degenerated into a total profligacy of manners, which, instead of being restrained, was augmented and encouraged by the example of their clergy. An.Ch.447. Bede, l. i. Gildas.

Such a relaxation in their morals could not fail of being attended with neglect, disorder, and national timidity: but, these were not the only mischievous consequences of their luxury and abundance; they were visited with a terrible pestilence, by which great numbers perished; and this calamity, added to the other circumstances that concurred to enfeeble the nation, encouraged their watchful neighbours to seize the opportunity of renewing their hostilities and incursions.

In order to oppose the progress of these people, the Britons pitched upon Vortigern as their general and sovereign; a prince who is said to have raised himself to the supreme command by the murder of his predecessor Constantine, brother to the king of Armorica. They chuse Vortigern for their king.

Whatever the arts may have been which paved the way to his elevation, he was certainly possessed of very few good qualities, and had probably recommended himself to a degenerate age by his immorality and extravagance. He was originally chieftain of the Silures settled in Radnorshire; and had acquired some reputation by his warlike atchievements against the enemies of his country: though his martial genius by no means appeared at this juncture, when, instead of exerting the natural strength of the kingdom, which, if properly applied, would have been sufficient to secure it from the designs of the enemy, he placed his dependence upon foreign auxiliaries. By his weakness or knavery, he betrayed his country into the hands of the Saxons, who had, for a century and a half, infested the coast of Britain to such a degree, that the Roman emperors, from the reign

An. Ch. 447. of Diocleſian, maintained a conſiderable military force, under the count of the Saxon ſhore, on purpoſe to ſecure this iſland againſt the deſcents of thoſe piratical adventurers. Their name they owed either to their original deſcent from the Sacæ, or to the ſhort ſwords, termed Sacks or Sceach, which they uſed in battle. They inhabited Jutland, Angelen, and Holſtein, in conjunction with the Jutes and Angles, who joined them in this expedition, and ſhared the conqueſt of Britain, in which likewiſe the Friſians were pricipally concerned.

Rer. Freſ. Hiſt. Bede, l. v. Sir W. Temple's Obſ. on the United Provinces.

who calls in the Saxons.

Vortigern, excluſive of his fear, was influenced by other motives to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of thoſe rovers. He had been concerned in the murder of ſome Roman deputies, who were left in Britain after the departure of Gallio; and he was afraid of being depoſed and puniſhed for this outrage, ſhould that people triumph over the barbarous nations, and reclaim the Britiſh province: beſides, he dreaded the intereſt and pretenſions of Ambroſius, a young prince deſcended from a Roman family, which had given ſovereigns to ſome parts of this iſland, and now reſiding in Armorica, to which he had fled from the villainy of Vortigern, by whom his father had been aſſaſſinated. Theſe were ſufficient inducements for him to call over a people by whom he might be ſupported in his government and uſurpation: but, as he could not take ſuch an important ſtep without the concurrence of the nobility and chieftains, over whom his authority was not yet firmly eſtabliſhed, he employed his emiſſaries to alarm them with the exaggerated accounts of the ſtrength, deſtination, and rancour of their old enemies the Scots and Picts. Having thus artfully prepared their minds for the propoſal, he ſummoned them to a general council, on pretence of deliberating upon the neceſſity of the ſtate,

Gildas. Nennius Hiſt. Brit.

and there managed their paſſions with ſuch dexterity, that they inveſted him with full power to invite the Saxons into England, and aſſign to them the iſle of Thanet for their habitation. An.Ch.447.

The Saxons conſiſted of independent clans, obſerving the ſame form of government, though not ſubject to a monarch or ſingle ſuperior, except in war, when they obeyed a general of their own election: but the government was carried on by a great council of all their chieftains. Such were * Hengiſt and Horſa, ſons of Wietgelſus, great grandſon of the famous Woden, worſhipped as the god of war, from whom all the princes of the Saxon heptarchy in England were likewiſe deſcended. Thoſe brothers had formerly, in the courſe of their naval expeditions, landed in Britain, and been hoſpitably received by Vortigern, who perhaps, took that opportunity of concerting with them the plan of their future operations. An.Ch.452.

Be that as it will, they, in conſequence of the ſolemn invitation received from that prince, arrived with an inconſiderable number, not exceeding fifteen hundred men, and landed at Ebs-fleet in the iſle of Thanet, where they did not long remain inactive. Vortigern being hardly preſſed by his enemies from the North, at that very juncture the Saxons joined his army, which was not a little inſpirited by the arrival of ſuch auxiliaries, and marched againſt the Scots and Picts, who had advanced as far as Stamford in Lincolnſhire: a battle enſued, in which the darts and lances of the enemy were found unequal to the axes and ſcymitars of the Saxons and the Britons, who obtained a complete victory, and recovered all the booty which the vanquiſhed had acquired. Theſe help him to repel the Scots and Picts;

* Hengiſt and Horſa are ſaid to have been born in Weſtphalia, at a place which ſtill retains the name of Hengiſterholt. They derived their names from the device upon their ſhields, which was a horſe, in the German language called indifferently Horſa and Hengiſt.

After

An. Ch. 452. After this action, the Saxons returned to the place appointed for their reſidence, and were ſupplied with food and raiment at the expence of Vortigern, who would have had no cauſe to repent of their arrival, could he have kept their number from increaſing. But their own country was ſo populous and barren, and the fertile lands of Britain ſo agreeable and alluring, that, in a very little time, the brothers were reinforced by five thouſand of their countrymen, who arrived in eighteen veſſels, with their wives and families. Theſe were augmented daily by freſh ſupplies to ſuch a formidable number, that the Britons began to ſee the danger of the ſtep they had taken; and after having expoſtulated with their mercenaries on the breach of the contract, which reſtricted them to a certain number, deſired them, in a very peremptory manner, to go in queſt of another habitation.

and excite the jealouſy of the natives;

who exclaim againſt their king for inviting ſuch rapacious gueſts.

At the ſame time they loudly exclaimed againſt the tyrant Vortigern, for having introduced ſuch an inſatiable crew into their country: and Hengiſt, who was endowed with a great ſhare of cunning and diſcernment, did not fail to profit by this ſpirit of diſcontent and diſaffection. He expatiated to that prince, on the danger to which he was expoſed from the hatred of his ſubjects, the claim of Ambroſius, and the very neighbourhood of the enemy; he repreſented the neceſſity of maintaining his government by means of foreign auxiliaries; he inſinuated himſelf into his confidence and eſteem; and laſtly, demonſtrated that the handful of Saxons under his command, could be of little ſervice to him, in caſe of domeſtic troubles or invaſion. Vortigern, ſoothed by his inſinuations, and alarmed at the proſpects he had drawn, contracted cloſe engagements with the two brothers, whom he looked upon as the ſupport of his adminiſtration; and even importuned them to ſend for another ſwarm of their

country-

Ravenet fc.

Vortigern King of Britain espouses Rowena a Saxon Lady.

countrymen; which accordingly arrived in forty veſſels. The infatuation of the Britiſh king is ſaid to have been encreaſed by his paſſion for Rowena, daughter of Hengiſt, whoſe beauty captivated his heart, at a banquet to which he was invited for that purpoſe. We are told by Nennius, that he not only married this young Saxon lady, though he had another wife alive, but even purchaſed her conſent, by putting her countrymen in poſſeſſion of the fertile plains of Kent, which lay favourable for their marine expeditions. An.Ch.452.

The Saxons, being by this time ſtrong enough to avow their ambitious deſigns, induſtriouſly ſought occaſion to quarrel with the Britons, pretending that their pay was not regularly advanced, nor their proviſions furniſhed in ſufficient quantity, according to the ſtipulations of their contract. They therefore demanded that thoſe grievances ſhould be immediately redreſſed, otherwiſe they would do themſelves juſtice; and in the mean time they engaged in a treaty with the Picts, that they might be in a condition to cope with the whole power of the Britiſh nation. This alliance was effected by the means of thoſe Saxons who had ſettled in * Northumberland: and while it was upon the anvil, Hengiſt began to commit hoſtilities, by ravaging the country in the ſouth. What part Vortigern acted on this occaſion is uncertain; but, in all probability, he remained in a ſtate of neu- A rupture enſues;

* Northumberland was ſettled by the Angli, who lived between Jutland and the Saxons, but univerſally deſerted their antient habitation, to partake with their countrymen of the fertile provinces of Britain. They were commanded by Oeta, and by the permiſſion of Vortigern took poſſeſſion of Northumberland and Cumberland, which were overgrown with woods, and very thinly inhabited. Theſe very people are ſaid to have fixed their colony in the Orkneys, from whence this Oeta removed them to the north of England; and in proceſs of time, they extended themſelves into Lothian as far as Edinburgh, which they poſſeſſed above one hundred and twenty years, according to Vaughan's remarks upon the Britiſh chronology.

trality,

An.Ch.452. and Vortimer takes the command of the Britons.

trality, owing to the importunities and influence of his Saxon wife. For this reaſon he was grown into ſuch contempt with his ſubjects, that they tranſferred their allegiance to his ſon Vortimer, the fruits of his firſt marriage; and taking up arms under the banner of this active prince, defeated the Saxons at Derwent, before they could reap any benefit from their northern alliance. The next battle was fought at Aylesford in Kent, with equal obſtinacy on both ſides, Horſa being killed by Vortimer, whoſe brother Cautigern had fallen by the hands of that Saxon chief; and both armies claimed the victory, though neither had reaſon to boaſt of their ſucceſs. The remaining part of the campaign produced nothing but ſlight ſkirmiſhes; and the ſeaſon being far advanced, Hengiſt made a voyage to his own country, to negotiate a reinforcement that might enable him to take the field in the ſpring, with a good proſpect of advantage. At the ſame time the Britons had recourſe to their friends in Armorica, who ſent over Ambroſius, at the head of ſome troops, to their aſſiſtance.

Vortigern is depoſed;

Vortigern was by this time become a contemptible partiſan of the Saxons, and ſo immerſed in vice and debauchery, that St. Germanus, deputy of the Gallican church in Britain, reprimanded him ſeverely for his adultery and diſſolute courſe of life, which, as he took no pains to reform, he was ſolemnly anathematized in a council of the Britiſh clergy, and his ſubjects abſolved from their oath of allegiance.

Nenn. Camden. hiſt. Hunt.

Immediately after the death of Horſa the ſole command of the Saxons centered in Hengiſt, who now aſſumed the title of king of Kent, and perhaps was complimented with the regal power by the general aſſembly, as the reward of his valour, by which they had acquired ſuch an agreeable ſettlement. No tranſaction of moment has marked the

the year that ſucceeded the battle of Aylesford; but the next campaign was diſtinguiſhed by a general engagement at Folkſtone in Kent, where the Saxons were worſted, and Vortimer, in all probability, would have improved his ſucceſs, had he not been anticipated by untimely death. An Ch. 457.

The Britons, being thus deprived of their gallant chief, and ſtill retaining ſome attachment to his father, who was in the hands of the Saxons, ranſomed him at the price of London, which they yielded to Hengiſt, and ſet Vortigern again upon the throne. But his ſovereignty was of ſhort duration, if we may credit the Britiſh hiſtorians, who ſay, that Hengiſt dreading the event of the war, expreſſed an uncommon deſire of peace; and, on pretence of accommodating all diſputes, perſuaded the Britiſh nobility to meet him and his chieftains on Saliſbury-plain, where, after they had feaſted together, the Saxons, at a certain ſignal, drew their poignards, which they had concealed for the purpoſe, and butchered all the Britiſh lords to the number of three hundred. but reſumes the government upon Vortimer's death. Wm. of Malmeſb. Verſtegan.

Though this relation ſeems to be copied from Witichindus, a Saxon hiſtorian, who ſays, ſuch a ſcene was acted in Germany, not long before that period, between the Saxons and Thuringians; a maſſacre of the ſame kind might have happened in two different countries, and indeed the knowledge of the firſt might have ſuggeſted the ſame expedient to Hengiſt, had he thought himſelf in ſuch a dangerous ſituation as could in any ſhape have excuſed a meaſure of ſuch baſeneſs and barbarity. But, at this conjuncture, he was under no neceſſity to take perfidious methods of enſuring his ſucceſs: Vortimer, the moſt formidable of all his opponents, was dead, and the ſovereign rule among the Britons had returned to Vortigern, a weak irreſolute prince, deſpiſed by the majority of his ſubjects, who Reflection on the ſtory of the maſſacre of the Engliſh noblemen by Hengiſt.

An.Ch.457. who were, at the ſame time, divided among themſelves: while the Saxon king had all the reaſon in the world to expect conſiderable ſuccours from his alliance with the North Britons. Let us therefore, rather than ſuppoſe him guilty of ſuch an enormous treachery, conclude, that he confided in his own ſtrength and the imbecillity of the Britons, whom he afterwards routed in the battle of Cruan-ford or Creyford, near Dartford, having ſlain four thouſand of their men, and among theſe ſome of their beſt officers. By this victory he was left in quiet poſſeſſion of Kent; and, in all probability, he, in conjunction with his Caledonian allies, ravaged the other parts of England, until the Britons ſued for peace, which confirmed to him by treaty the poſſeſſion of his Kentiſh dominions.

As for Vortigern, deſpiſed and neglected on all hands, he retired to his own town in Radnorſhire, which being burnt by his enemies, in hope that he would periſh in the flames, he fled for refuge to an almoſt inacceſſible retreat *, at the foot of the mountain Rivel, near Caernarvon, where he ſpent the remainder of his life in continual terror and anxiety. The throne being thus vacated, the Britons reſolved to elect another ſovereign; and their choice fell upon Ambroſius Aurelius, who eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the wars of the Saxons; and already exerciſed the ſupreme authority over a ſociety in Wales, compoſed of ſuch Britons as had fled thither from the devaſtations of the Picts and Scots. This new monarch, deſcended from the old race of the Britiſh kings, was

Vortigern is ſucceeded in the ſovereignty by Ambroſius Aurelius,

* There was but one avenue to this retreat, over the mountain, ſo narrow as to admit only three perſons to walk a-breaſt with difficulty. It is ſtill called Bwleh-Guortigern, i. e. Vortigern's paſſage; there is likewiſe a hilloc covered with a heap of ſtones, known by the name of Bedn-Guortigern, the grave of Vortigern; which the inhabitants of Llanhaynon, digging up a few years ago, found a ſtone coffin, containing the ſkeleton of a very tall man. Vide Kennet's Paroch. Antiq.

no

was no ſooner veſted with the ſovereign command, than he reſolved to retrieve all the lands which had been reft from his ſubjects by the encroaching Saxons: with this view he took the field, and his endeavours muſt have been crowned with ſucceſs againſt Hengiſt and his ſon Eſca, whom he had by this time aſſociated as his colleague; for he had penetrated into the very fartheſt part of their poſſeſſions in the iſle of Thanet *, where he fought the battle near Wippedes-fleat, in which twelve Britiſh commanders were ſlain; whereas, the Saxons loſt but one officer of note, from whom the field derived its name. The damage, however, they ſuſtained in this action was ſo great, that they had no ſtomach to continue the war, which the Britons being as little able to proſecute, a ceſſation of hoſtilities enſued; and theſe laſt enjoyed an interval of repoſe; though this too was diſturbed by a commotion raiſed in the North, at the inſtigation of Paſcentius, the ſurviving ſon of Vortigern, who laid claim to the ſovereignty in right of his father: but, his party being ſuppreſſed by Ambroſius, he is ſaid to have fled into Ireland, from whence he afterwards returned, and was allowed to enjoy his hereditary eſtate and privileges; for his father had been no other than chief to a tribe, when he was elevated to the ſupreme command.

An.Ch.457. who gives battle to the Saxons at Wippedes-fleat.

An.Ch.465.

Gildas. Bede. Nennius.

Ambroſius, being rid of all rivalſhip, reſolved to regulate the perplexed affairs of his dominions:

* The account of the victory obtained over the Saxons and Picts, at Mould in Flintſhire, by means of biſhop Germanus, deputy of the Gallic church, has ſo much the air of a monkiſh fable, that it hardly deſerves the leaſt hiſtorical notice. That the Britons ſhould obtain a victory by repeating the word Halelujah, in a valley ſurrounded with rocks that reverberated the ſound, ſo as to intimidate the enemy, is altogether incredible. But nothing is more likely than that, in the courſe of this war, they might defeat their enemies, by following the advice of Germanus, who, before he aſſumed the croſier, had wielded the ſword, in the character of prince and duke of Anſerre; and, as Conſtantius obſerved, had abandoned the battles of the earth, in order to purſue the warfare of heaven.

An.Ch.465. for this purpoſe, he convoked a general aſſembly of the princes and nobles at York, where meaſures were concerted for re-eſtabliſhing the churches and reſtoring the tranquillity of Britain. Then he marched with an army to London, which in all likelihood ſtill remained in the hands of the Saxons, whom he expelled, and from thence made a progreſs to Wincheſter and Saliſbury, where he reſtored the Britiſh intereſt and dominion: it was on this expedition that he was ſolemnly crowned at Stonehenge; and this part of the country was the place of his reſidence and burial, as appears from the word Ambreſbury, which is the name of a town in the neighbourhood of Saliſbury-plain.

He convokes a council at York, and regulates the affairs of the ſtate.

The tranquillity which Britain now enjoyed was owing rather to the weakneſs than the pacific diſpoſition of its enemies: for no ſooner did Hengiſt and his ſon Eſca find themſelves in a condition to recommence hoſtilities, either in conſequence of having received a reinforcement from Saxony, or of civil diſſenſions among the Britons, than they took the field again, and laying waſte the country, compelled the inhabitants to fly before their arms: perhaps they were encouraged to make this incurſion by the indiſpoſition of Ambroſius, who could

An.Ch.473. not at that time command his troops in perſon.

Enters into a league with the Scots.

This excellent prince, who was a ſound politician as well as a conſummate warrior, foreſeeing a very troubleſome oppoſition, ſhould the Saxons ſettled in Northumberland extend their poſſeſſions ſo as to be able to unite occaſionally with their brethren of Kent, contrived a very effectual expedient to keep thoſe northern invaders employed at home, by projecting a plan of alliance with the Scots, independent of the Picts, who were the ſtaunch friends and confederates of the Saxons. Thoſe two nations had already begun to be infected with mutual jealouſy and diſtruſt, and many diſputes had happened between

between them about the diviſion of the lands and plunder which they had raviſhed from the Britons; ſo that their friendſhip was in the wane, when Ambroſius made his propoſals to the Scots, who found them too advantageous to be rejected. He ceded to them the lands between the friths; and they engaged to harraſs the northern Saxons with inceſſant irruptions. They performed their part of the contract with incredible alacrity and perſeverance, becauſe they found their account in pillaging a rich induſtrious people by ſurprize; and this alliance with Ambroſius, but eſpecially the ceſſion of the Regnum Cumbrenſe, was productive of a long and bloody war between the Scots and Picts, which ended in the extirpation of the latter, and even in the extinction of the name; while the Britons underwent the ſame fate from their Saxon conquerors * An. Ch. 473. Fordun.

In about three years after the laſt incurſion of the Saxons under Hengiſt and Eſca, another band of thoſe adventurers, commanded by Ælla and his three ſons, landed in Suſſex; and having defeated the Britons who attempted to oppoſe them, took poſſeſſion of all the maritime parts of this country, while the natives fled for ſhelter to the foreſt of Anderida. Thus he laid the foundation of the kingdom of the South Saxons, which afterwards included the foreſt, together with the greateſt part of Surry: but, this monarchy was not eſtabliſhed without great difficulty and bloodſhed; for the An. Ch. 477. Ælla and his three ſons land in Suſſex;

* At this period Merlin, the Britiſh prophet and inchanter, rendered himſelf famous in Britain. By the Britiſh writers he is called Merdhin Emrys, and Embreys Glentic. He was ſuppoſed to be the ſon of an incubus, and all the monkiſh hiſtorians brand him with the appellation of wizzard. Buchanan imagines him to have been an impoſtor, who found his account in publiſhing pretended predictions couched in equivocal expreſſion, like the ancient oracles: but Lhwyd, the antiquary deſcribes him as a ſenſible man, who, for his learning and ſkill in the mathematics, was counted as ſomething preternatural in thoſe days of ignorance and credulity.

An.Ch.477. and fight the battle of Maer-credes-burn.

Britons would not part with their poſſeſſions till after an obſtinate oppoſition, in the courſe of which they fought ſeveral battles with various ſucceſs, particularly that of Maer-credes-burn, where they were commanded by Ambroſius, who, though he could not obtain the victory, ſeems at leaſt, to have left it in diſpute. After the death of Hengiſt, Ælla, being reinforced by a body of his countrymen from Germany, undertook the ſiege of Andredceaſter, which proved a very tedious and hazardous enterprize. The Britons exerted all their courage and activity for the preſervation of this important place, and harraſſed the beſiegers to ſuch a degree, by throwing miſſiles at a diſtance, attacking them by ſurprize, and retreating ſuddenly to their woods, through which they could not be purſued, that the Saxon general found it impracticable to reduce the town, until he had divided his army into two bodies, one of which was employed to cover the beſiegers: then he carried on his attacks with redoubled fury, and was ſo much exaſperated at the obſtinate defence made by the beſieged, that, when at laſt he took the place by aſſault, he ordered the garriſon and inhabitants to be put to the ſword, and burned the town to aſhes. Having thus extended his conqueſts to the frontiers of Kent, which was now peaceably occupied by Eſca, the ſon of Hengiſt, he aſſumed the title of King, after having reſided fourteen years in the iſland, and reigned with great reputation *.

Sax. Chron.

An Ch.490.

The arrival of Cerdic and his ſon Cynric.

From this period there is an interval of five years, during which we find no tranſaction of hiſtorical authenticity; but, this was ſucceeded by a

* He died after a reign of thirty-two years, leaving his dominions to his ſon Ciſſa, who extended the limits of his ſovereignty, and reduced an old Roman ſtation, the Regnum in the Itinerary of Antoninus, which being rebuilt and fortified, derived from this prince the name of Chicheſter. H. Hunting.

very

very remarkable event, namely, the arrival of a Saxon chief called Cerdic and his ſon Cynric, who, with a body of troops, embarked in five ſhips, arrived at a place ſince known by the name of Cerdicſhore, which Camden ſuppoſes to be Cerdicſand, near Yarmouth in Yorkſhire; but Matthew of Weſtminſter more judiciouſly places it on the weſtern coaſt in the neighbourhood of Dorſet and Hants, which with ſome of the adjoining counties formed the ſcene of his conqueſts. He was oppoſed on the very firſt day of his landing by the Britons, who attacked him with their uſual impetuoſity, but were repulſed towards night; and as they did not appear next day, he extended his quarters along the ſhore. They did not, however, lay aſide their deſign of diſtreſſing this invader, but harraſſed him in an unintermitting war of five and twenty years, in the courſe of which he muſt have abandoned the footing he had gained, unleſs he had been powerfully aſſiſted by his countrymen already ſettled in Britain, and ſupplied with ſtrong reinforcements from Germany. One of theſe was conducted by Porte, with his ſons Bieda and Megla, who made their firſt deſcent at Portland or Porteſham, near Abbotſbury in Dorſetſhire, and ſuſtained a vigorous attack from the natives, commanded by a young nobleman, who loſt his life in the engagement. An.Ch.490. An.Ch.501.

Mean while Cerdic made ſuch progreſs in his conqueſts, that he ſeems to have been conſidered as the ſucceſſor of Hengiſt, in the influence and command he exerted over all the Saxons; and againſt him the whole military power of the Britons was directed. Ambroſius being dead, they were ruled by a prince whom the Saxon annals diſtinguiſh by the appellation of Natun *, though, whether

* This Britiſh king is by Huntingdon called Nazaleod: who ſays, the battle was fought at Chorford upon the Avon, between Saliſbury and Ringwood. Camden ſuppoſes this king to have been the celebrated Ambroſius,

An. Ch. 501. whether this was the ſon of the late king, or his ſuppoſed brother Uther Pendragon, we cannot now determine; ſo much is this part of hiſtory involved in monkiſh fable and romance. But, whoſoever he might be, certain it is, he aſſembled the whole ſtrength of the kingdom, while Cerdic, in order to oppoſe ſuch united force, demanded and received ſuccours from Eſca king of Kent, Ælla king of Suſſex, Porte, who had ſettled in Hampſhire, and all the Saxon colonies in Britain. Thus reinforced, he formed his army into two diviſions, one of which he led in perſon, giving the command of the other to his ſon Cynric, and advanced againſt the Britons, in order to terminate the war by one deciſive battle. The Britiſh monarch, far from declining the trial, attacked his diviſion in perſon with ſuch irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that the Saxons were broke and routed with great ſlaughter; when Cynric, perceiving the Britons purſuing without order, and fatigued with the action, charged them in flank with ſuch vigour that they were obliged to face about in their own defence. The diviſion of Cerdic rallying at the ſame time, the fortune of of the day was reverſed, and the Britons were defeated in their turn, with the loſs of their gallant

The Britons receive a terrible overthrow at Cerdic's ford.

whoſe name is never mentioned by the Saxon annaliſts, although he obtained ſo many victories over them. Archbiſhop Uſher is of opinion, that this is the renowned Uther, whoſe true name was Nathan-leod, the other being no more than an epithet, ſignifying wonderful or terrible.

Mr. Carte adopts the ſentiment of Camden, ſuppoſing that Ambroſius Aurelius was his Roman name, but that the Britons beſtowed upon him the ſurname of Natan Leod, which ſignifies, the defence of the people; an epithet which they would naturally give to ſuch a great prince, who, as Huntingdon calls him, was Rex maximus Britannorum. He judges the place where the battle was fought to be Tanley, about four miles from Andover, and ten from Ambreſbury; and the county of Natanleage to have run from thence to Charford, which is generally allowed to be Cerdic's-ford. This is a very probable conjecture, and naturally accounts for the death and burial of Ambroſius, at a place, which, from that event, ſtill retains the name of Ambreſbury.

king,

king, who with five thouſand men lay dead upon the field, thence called Cerdic's ford. But, the death of their king and compatriots, who fell upon this occaſion, was not ſo prejudicial to the Britons, as the reputation and fame of the victory, which invited freſh ſhoals of Saxon adventurers to leave their native country and come to puſh their fortune in Britain. An. Ch. 501. An. Ch. 508. Chr. Sax. Ethelred. Flor.

It was at this period that the celebrated Arthur appeared with ſuch dignity upon the ſtage, and revived the drooping ſpirits of his countrymen. This prince, of whom ſuch miraculous exploits are recorded, is of ſuch obſcure original, that ſome authors ſuppoſe him to be the ſon of this Nathan Leod; others alledge his father was Uther Pendragon, brother of Ambroſius: but he is generally thought to be of Corniſh extraction, and ſon of Gurlois king of that province: this is the opinion of the Welſh authors, who ſay he was born at Tindangel, and ſovereign of that county alone, while other hiſtorians affirm, that his dominion extended over all the Britons. Both theſe allegations may be true, if we ſuppoſe his hereditary power was confined to Cornwall; and that he was elected to the ſupreme command, like his predeceſſors, who reigned over all the Britons without exception. If we embrace this conjecture, we cannot help giving credit to Malmeſbury, who affirms that he had ſerved as general under Ambroſius; and ſurely, the Britons could not pitch upon a more proper perſon for the ſovereign ſway, than a prince of Arthur's heroic genius, who had been trained to war in their armies, and in all probability was at hand to collect their ſcattered forces, and take immediate meaſures for repairing the damage they had ſuſtained. In this ſtation, he exerted himſelf with ſuch bravery and conduct, that according to Nennius and the moſt authentic hiſtorians, he Arthur is veſted with the chief command of the Britons.

An.Ch.508. worſted the Saxons in twelve ſucceſſive battles; though theſe ſeem to have been inconſiderable ſkirmiſhes, in which the Britiſh prince acquired more glory than advantage; for the ſcene of the war was confined to Lincolnſhire and part of Wales; and the Saxons, notwithſtanding all thoſe checks, proſecuted the war with ſuch vigour and perſeverance, that Arthur was fain at laſt to conclude a treaty, by which he yielded to Cerdic the counties of Hants and Somerſet, which were afterwards erected into the kingdom of Weſſex *.

Nennius.

An.Ch.514. Stufe and Withgar land in England.

The moſt remarkable of Arthur's exploits were atchieved in the interval of five years, between the battle of Cerdic's-ford and the arrival of Stufe and Withgar, two nephews of Cerdic, who came with three ſhips, containing a reinforcement from Germany, and landed at Cerdic's ford without oppoſition. Though next morning the Britons appeared in order of battle, and an engagement enſued, in which the iſlanders were totally defeated. This, however, muſt have been ſome inconſiderable body, otherwiſe they would hardly have ſuffered themſelves to be cut in pieces by ſuch a number of Saxons as could be tranſported in three veſſels. Yet this ſupply is ſaid to have enabled Cerdic to retrieve his affairs, which had been greatly diſordered by the bravery and fortune of Arthur; and now that Eſca and Ælla, kings of Kent and Suſſex, were dead, he aſſumed the title of king, and was conſidered as the head of the Saxon intereſt in Great Britain; though not before he had obtained another ſignal victory over the Britons at Chardford in Hampſhire, where both ſides fought with equal obſtinacy till the cloſe of day, when the Britons

* The detail of this hero's ſuppoſed atchievements in Geoffry of Monmouth, is an extravagant ill-contrived romance, more worthy of the invention of a Welſh bard, like Talieſſin, than the pen of an authentic hiſtorian.

betook

betook themſelves to flight, and the intervening darkneſs ſecured them from the purſuit of the enemy. But it does not appear that Arthur was perſonally preſent on this occaſion. An.Ch.519. Chron. Sax. Flor. Wig.

Cerdic, elated with this ſucceſs, advanced in the courſe of the ſucceeding year, to the borders of Hampſhire, and inveſted the town of Caer-Badon in Berks, which, before the uſe of artillery, was counted very ſtrong both by nature and art. Arthur, unwilling to loſe a place of ſuch importance, aſſembled his troops; and marching to its relief, attacked the Saxons with ſuch fury, that they were obliged to quit the ſiege and take refuge on the neighbouring hill of Badon, from whence they were next morning diſlodged by the * Britiſh hero with great ſlaughter. This complete victory humbled the Saxons to ſuch a degree that they were fain to be quiet for ſome years; and, notwithſtanding the weakneſs of the Britons, who had ſuffered grievouſly in the courſe of the war, thoſe ſtrangers in all probability muſt have abandoned their conqueſts, had not they been reinforced from time to time, by a continual influx of their countrymen, which enabled them to extend their poſſeſſions, and at laſt expel the native inhabitants. Cerdic is defeated by Arthur at Badon-hill.

Cerdic, ſtrengthened by theſe continual ſupplies, not only regained the footing he had loſt at Badon-hill, but having totally reduced all Hampſhire and Dorſetſhire, he landed with an army in the iſle of Wight, which he likewiſe ſubdued, after having fought an obſtinate battle at Witgarabyrig, or Cerisbrook, where the Britons received a terrible overthrow. The iſle of Wight is conquered by Cerdic.

This victory eſtabliſhed him in the quiet poſſeſſion of all his dominions, when reflecting that the Saxons lately arrived were neither his natural-

* Huntingdon ſays, Arthur ſlew four hundred and forty Saxons, with his own hand, in the action of the preceding day.

born

An.Ch.530. who is re-crowned at Winchester.

born subjects, nor connected with him by any legal bond of attachment, he thought proper to be re-crowned at Winchester, the capital of his new-erected kingdom, and exacted from his people a new oath of allegiance. He did not long survive this ceremony, but died in peace, with the reputation of a warlike prince, and a consummate politician, after having, with the consent of his son, bestowed the isle of Wight upon his two nephews Stufe and Withgar.

Arthur's domestic unhappiness. Chron. Sax.

Arthur, in the decline of life, was prevented from interrupting the success of the Saxons, by domestic troubles that produced a civil war, in which he lost his life. His first wife had been carried off by Meluas king of Somersetshire, who detained her a whole year at Glassenbury, until Arthur, discovering the place of her retreat, advanced with an army against the ravisher, who, in all probability, would have paid dear for his presumption, had not peace been effected and the lady restored by the mediation of Gildas Albanius, who was Arthur's uncle by his mother. We do not hear that the British hero had any cause to complain of his second marriage; but his third consort was debauched by his own nephew Mordred, a Cumbrian prince, whom in all probability she accompanied to his own dominions in the north of England. By such an outrage he incurred the vengeance of the uncle, which, however, was for some time suspended by the arts and interest of his nephew, who found means to excite a rebellion. At last, the two princes met in the battle of Camlan in Lancashire, and attacked each other with such fury that Mordred fell upon the spot, after having aimed a blow at Arthur, which proved mortal *. The body of this celebrated monarch was,

Ush. Chron. in Brit.

Arthur killed at the battle of Camlan. An.Ch.542.

* Mordred had no territories in the west of England, consequently it is not at all probable that this battle should be fought at Camelford in Cornwall, unless we suppose that the nephew went in quest of his uncle, to such

was, at his dying requeſt, tranſported to the old church of Glaſſenbury, and interred by his ſecond wife Guinever, between two pyramids, according to the deſcription given by Malmeſbury, and the ſongs which the Welſh bards compoſed in his praiſe †. An.Ch.542.

Thus fell the laſt of the Britiſh worthies, who had with indefatigable virtue ſo long ſupported the cauſe of his ſinking country; and was certainly, excluſive of all fiction and romance, an illuſtrious hero, of undaunted courage, unſhaken fortitude, unblemiſhed morals, and unlimited generoſity, which flowed among all his dependents. In conſequence of his zeal for religion he was extremely liberal to the church, and an eminent patron and protector of the bards, in whoſe poems the memory

ſuch a diſtance from his own dominions; for it appears from Vaughan's diſſertation on the Britiſh chronology, that Mordred was the ſon of Lew, a Cumbrian prince; and his brother Gwalchmai, or Walwain, was ſovereign of Galloway in Scotland; tho' he ſerved his uncle Arthur with unſhaken fidelity, and was buried at Roſs in Pembrokeſhire. Mr. Carte, for theſe reaſons, concludes that the battle was fought near Kirky Laundale, not far from Lancaſter; as this name anſwers exactly in ſenſe to the Britiſh word Camlan, ſignifying the valley of Lan.

† Henry II. paſſing through Wales, and hearing thoſe ſongs deſcribing the burial-place of Arthur, was ſeized with an emotion of curioſity to know the truth, and in the year 1189 he granted a warrant to ſearch for the body of Arthur. After having dug ſeven feet, they found a broad grave-ſtone, in the lower or undermoſt ſurface of which was fixed a leaden croſs, inſcribed, HIC JACET SEPVLTVS INCLITVS REX ARTHURUS IN INSULA AVALLONIA. Some feet lower in the ground, they diſcovered a wooden coffin, containing the ſkeleton of a man of very large dimenſions; and Giraldus Cambrenſis, who was then preſent, ſays, he reckoned ten wounds upon the ſkull, all of which had been healed up, except one that remained ſtill open, and was in all probability the immediate cauſe of his death. At the ſame time the tomb of his ſecond wife Guinever was opened, when her golden treſſes appeared intire and bright, and plaited in a very curious manner; but when touched ſunk into duſt. Both ſkeletons were removed into the new church, and there buried in a marble tomb, and the leaden croſs with the inſcription was kept in the treaſury of Glaſſenbury church, until it was ſuppreſſed in the reign of Henry VIII. Stow's Chronicle.

of

An.Ch. 542. of his atchievements is perpetuated, and even his exiſtence aſcertained *.

Britain involved in anarchy.

The fate of this excellent prince was the more deplorable, as no perſon ſurvived that was capable to fill his ſtation, or in any manner ſupport the weight of government, at ſuch a critical conjuncture, when the Saxon power daily gained ground in the heart of the kingdom, and threatened the whole Britiſh nation with the total loſs of their country. At this period, they were oppreſſed by five cotemporary princes, whom Gildas deſcribes as monſters of wickedneſs and impiety; ſo that they had nothing to expect but miſery from their example and adminiſtration. Their names were Aurelius Conanus, in all probability the deſcendant of the famous Ambroſius, Vortiporius king of the Demitæ, Conſtantinus, Cuneglaſius, and Magoclunus, who is mentioned as having been the greateſt in power as well as in wickedneſs. Theſe were not only profligate but diſunited: no one of them had power and intereſt ſufficient to acquire the ſupreme authority over his competitors; and their contention involved the nation in civil troubles, which rendered it an eaſy prey to their Saxon conquerors. Thoſe invaders had by this time diſpoſſeſſed the natives of a great part of South Britain, and the Saxon ſettlements were daily extended by freſh colonies from Germany.

* By the ſongs of Talieſſin and Llowarchen, we are made acquainted with the ſcenes of his twelve great victories obtained over the Saxons. The firſt battle was fought at the mouth of the river Glen, in Northumberland. The ſecond, third, fourth, and fifth on the Douglas, a river running by Wigan in Lancaſhire; the ſixth near a brook called Baſſas, ſuppoſed to be near Baſingſtoke, in Hampſhire; the ſeventh, in Coit Kelydon, probably in the Cumbrian kingdom; the eighth, at Guinion, now Benchefter, in the Biſhopric of Durham; the ninth, was at Caerlegian, now Cheſter; the tenth, at Aderith, on the borders of Scotland; the eleventh, at the mountain of Agned-cath Regenion, which Lloyd ſuppoſes to be Arthur's ſeat by Edinburgh; and the twelfth, at mount Badon, in Berks. Carte's Hiſt. of England.

The

The kingdom of the East Saxons was already erected by Erchinwin, the son of Offa, under whom they gradually became masters of Essex, Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire: the kingdom of Kent was under the dominion of Emaric, the grandson of Esca, who had ended his days in peace and reputation. Mercia, founded by Crida, descended from Withelig the second son of Woden, comprehended the country from the Severn eastward to Lancashire and Yorkshire, without encroaching upon Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, which composed the kingdom of the East Angles. As for those who settled in Northumberland, under Otta and Ebusa, they were exposed to more opposition than any other colony of their countrymen had experienced in this island; for over and above the efforts of the Britons to dispossess them, they were continually harrassed by the Scots; and therefore gladly received a new swarm of their brethren, commanded by Ida, who landed at Flamborough in Yorkshire, and was unanimously elected sovereign of the Northumbrian kingdom. Mean while Cerdic dying was succeeded by his son Cynric or Kenric, who, though a prince of an enterprising genius, continued quiet, within the limits of his inheritance, till the death of Arthur, when he undertook the conquest of Wiltshire, which he reduced, after having defeated the Britons at Old Sarum, and taken the strong fortress of Scarobyrig, hard by the field of battle.

An. Ch. 542.

Progress of the Saxon invaders.

Hen. Hunt, Ethelward. Chron Sax.

The Britons being now driven to despair, collected their whole force in order to revenge, at one blow, all the calamities they had suffered from this Saxon prince and his father; and advancing as far as Banbury castle near Marlborough, divided their army into nine bodies, of which they formed three regular lines, having the horse and archers upon the wings, in the manner of the Romans. In this

A drawn battle at Banbury castle between the Britons and Saxons.

An.Ch.556. order they were attacked by Kenric and his ſon Ceaulin, at the head of their Saxons armed with ſwords and maces, who, notwithſtanding all their boaſted valour, and the advantage they had in point of weapons over the arrows and javelins of the Britons, could not terminate the battle, until night parted the combatants. After this engagement, Kenric marched towards the edge of Berkſhire, which he muſt have conquered had not death interpoſed, after a reign in which he had rather ſtudied the arts of peaceful government, than proſecuted the operations of war, though he had acquired ſuch reputation in arms while his father
An.Ch.560. lived.

Some account of Ida, king of Northumberland. This period is likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by the death of Ida, king of Northumberland, who had reigned with equal dignity and ſucceſs; and divided his dominions between his two ſons Ælla and Adda, the firſt of whom inhabited that part of his kingdom called Deira, while Adda ruled in the diviſion of Bernicia. But, as Ceaulin, the ſon of Kenric, king of Weſſex, was by this time acknowledged as the ſupreme head of the Saxon confederacy, we ſhall henceforward pay our chief attention to the concerns of that warlike prince. His great power and reputation not only entailed upon him the averſion of the Britons, but even inſpired his own countrymen with envy and ambitious emulation.

Ethelbert routed by Ceaulin at Wimbleton. Ethelbert, king of Kent, a young prince of towering pride and ſome capacity, preſuming upon his own power and talents, and reſenting the loſs of that preheminence among the Saxons which his progenitors had maintained, reſolved to invade the dominions of Ceaulin, who advanced with his brother Cutha, to chaſtiſe his arrogance; and the two armies meeting at Wimbleton in Surry, Ethelbert was defeated with great ſlaughter.

After

After this encounter, Ceaulin's forces, under the command of his brother Cutha or Cutholf, advancing as far as Bedford, fought the battle which decided the fate of Mercia; for the Britons being defeated, had no alternative but that of submitting quietly or abandoning their country. Cutha's victory being followed by the reduction of Leighton, Aylesbury, Bensington, and Eigneſham, which were towns of importance, Ceaulin ſoon made himſelf maſter of the vale of Bucks, and all Oxfordſhire. Then he undertook the conqueſt of Glouceſterſhire, and fought a very bloody battle with the Britons at Derham, near Marsfield, where they were defeated, and three of their princes ſlain; and the cities of Bath, Cirenceſter and Glouceſter, ſubmitted to the conqueror. Nevertheleſs, ſome parts of the country held out ſeven years after the action, till the battle of Fethan-leagh, ſuppoſed to be Fretherne, on the eaſtern bank of the Severne, but more probably Featherſtone-haugh, in the north of England, where the Britons at firſt gained a conſiderable advantage: but, Ceaulin rallying his forces, returned to the charge with redoubled fury, and obtained a complete victory, which however he dearly bought with the life of his ſon Cuthwin, a young prince of great expectation.

An.Ch.560.

The Britons defeated at Bedford,

and afterwards at Fethan-leagh.

Chron. Sax. Ethelward. Huntingd. An.Ch.584.

The Britons were, upon this occaſion, commanded by Malgo or Magoclunus, whom they had ſolemnly elected for their ſovereign; and he was reinforced by a ſtrong body of Scots, under the conduct of Griffin, ſent thither as auxiliaries by his father king Aidan, with whom the Britiſh monarch had concluded a treaty of alliance; while Ceaulin's army was reinforced by Ethelfred, king of Northumberland, and Brudeus, monarch of the Picts. This action muſt have been fought with great fury on both ſides; for, excluſive of Cuthwin's

An.Ch.584. win's death, the prince of Scotland and his couſin Bruden, lord of the iſland Mona were left dead upon the field, Ethelfred loſt an eye, and the Pictiſh king was dangerouſly wounded.

Fordun. Buchan. l.v.

They retire to Wales.

This defeat, and the arrival of Cerdic, who formed the Mercian kingdom about this period, obliged the Britons to retire beyond the Severne, in order to wait for another opportunity to attack the Saxons with ſome proſpect of ſucceſs; and ſuch an occaſion very ſoon occurred. The ferocious diſpoſition of Ceaulin rendered him as odious to his own ſubjects, as he was deteſted by Ethelbert king of Kent, who had not laid aſide the hope of retrieving the former importance of his family. He therefore fomented the diſcontent of Ceaulin's ſubjects, until it broke out in an open rebellion, headed by his own nephew Ceolric, ſon of the brave Cutholf, lately deceaſed, and even engaged the Britons and Scots in his confederacy, by flattering them with the hope of revenging themſelves upon the tyrant. They joined forces therefore, and advancing to Wodneſburg, or Wantborough in Wilts, gave battle to Ceaulin, who being defeated, fled from his dominions and died in exile, while his kingdom devolved to Ceola, and Ethelbert was declared chief of the Saxon confederacy.

An.Ch.592. Ethelbert's great power.

This prince, who had very early in life diſplayed his ambition, was by this time diſtinguiſhed for his great capacity, and ſoon rendered himſelf formidable by his power to the other Saxon potentates. He married Bertha, daughter of Cherebert king of Paris; an alliance, which while it gratified his pride, added luſtre and importance to his character at home; ſo that he was enabled to exerciſe a kind of tyrannical dominion over the Saxons, who were ſettled to the ſouthward of the Humber. On the death of Crida king of Mercia, he ſeized that kingdom as lord-paramount, tho' Widda, the

the ſon of the late king, ſtill ſurvived; but finding this act of violence had produced murmurs and diſcontents among the other Saxon princes, he thought proper to reſtore it, after it had continued three years in his poſſeſſion, though he ſtill reſerved a ſort of ſuperiority over Widda's adminiſtration. An. Ch. 592.

OF THE CHURCH.

BEfore we proceed with the hiſtory of that period which begins with the converſion of the Britiſh Saxons to Chriſtianity, the reader will expect that ſome account ſhould be given of the diſputes and troubles in which the chriſtian church was involved, from the departure of the Romans to the eſtabliſhment of the Saxon heptarchy; we ſhall therefore in this place, inſert a brief abſtract of thoſe tranſactions. Seminaries erected in Britain.

We are informed by the venerable Bede, that St. Germanus and Lupus, who had re-eſtabliſhed the true faith at Verolam by their teaching, preaching, and working of miracles, were no ſooner departed from the iſland, than Pelagianiſm began to revive, and regained with ſuch rapidity the ground it had loſt, that another application was made to St. Germanus, who, in conjunction with Severus biſhop of Triers, returned to Britain, and performed ſuch a miraculous cure upon the lame ſon of a nobleman called Elathius, that the people were convinced of their being the choſen miſſionaries of God, and the chief profeſſors of Pelagianiſm were baniſhed from their country. Then the holy Germanus inſtituted ſchools of learning, under the inſpection of perſons eminent for their abilities. Dubricius taught in one of theſe ſeminaries at Landaff; another was ſuperintended by one Daniel; and Iltutus kept a great

great ſchool at Lantuit in Glamorganſhire, where a great number of the Britiſh nobility received their education. As for Dubricius, he was firſt created biſhop of Landaff, and afterwards conſecrated archbiſhop of Caer-leon or Cheſter, from whence he transferred the metropolitan ſee to Landaff. He erected twelve monaſteries, and taught his monks to earn their ſubſiſtence with the labour of their hands. He is ſaid to have been conſecrated by Germanus and Lupus. Aurelius Ambroſius confirmed his election: on that prince's death, he inveſted Uther and afterwards Arthur with the enſigns of royalty; and laſtly retired to an hermitage, where he ended his days, after having reſigned the pomp of the archbiſhopric.

Spelman's abſtract of the hiſt. of Dubricius.

From the firſt eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in this iſland, there were three archbiſhopries, namely, of York, London, and Caer-leon, to whom eight and twenty biſhops or flamens were ſubject. He of London preſided over all Cornwall, and the country northward to the Humber. Northumberland and Albany were under the juriſdiction of the archbiſhop of York, and the ſee of Caer-leon extended over the whole principality of Wales.

Three archbiſhoprics in South Britain.

Heydon. Polichron.

Dubricius had one place of ſtudy on the river Wey, and another at Moſhroſs, and is ſaid to have inſtructed a thouſand diſciples, among whom were St. Theliaus, Samſon, Idanus, and other diſtinguiſhed characters. Nor was Iltutus leſs eminent for the number and quality of his pupils, among whom we number Samſon, archbiſhopric of Dole in Brittany; Paul biſhop of the Oxiſmii, a ſee comprehending the dioceſes of Treguier, St. Pol and St. Brieu; and at this period, Britain flouriſhed in civil and eccleſiaſtical learning.

The monaſtery of Banchor or Bangor was another ſeminary that gave many valuable men to the church, and was ſo populous, as we are informed

by Bede, that when the monks were ſeparated into ſeven diviſions, each contained three hundred brothers, that maintained themſelves by the labour of their hands: one hundred of theſe were appointed to perform divine ſervice at one time; and were ſucceeded by an equal number in rotation; ſo that it continued the whole day without intermiſſion. Bede.

Account of the Britiſh councils or ſynods.

The Britiſh church owed the firſt form of its liturgy to Germanus and Lupus, who introduced the worſhip of the Gallican church; and this was at that time very different from the ritual of the church of Rome.

The firſt Welſh council of the clergy was aſſembled in order to take cognizance of Vortigern's profligacy, after that prince had been doomed to deſtruction by the prophecies of Merlin; and they ſeemed to have raiſed Aurelius Ambroſius to the throne by their ſole power and influence. An. Ch. 465.

The next occaſion for which the Britiſh ſynod aſſembled, was the conſecration of St. Dubricius and Theliaus, the firſt of whom was elected archbiſhop of Caer-leon, and the other biſhop of Landaff, though not without the conſent of the ſovereign. An. Ch. 516.

The third general council was convocated to recognize the right of Arthur, to whom they ſwore allegiance; and he in return confirmed their rights, privileges, and poſſeſſions. Immediately after this aſſembly Dubricius is ſaid to have retired from the world, and to have been ſucceeded by Arthur's uncle St. David, who was educated by Paulinus, a diſciple of Germanus, and conſecrated, together with Elaus and Theliaus, by the patriarch of Jeruſalem, to which place there was at that period a great reſort of Britiſh devotees.

Pelagianiſm extirpated by St. David.

The fourth ſynod was held at a place called Slandewy, in the church of St. David at Brevy,

and assembled in order to concert measures for suppressing the Pelagian heresy, which had revived and made a considerable progress. Here such a number of bishops assisted, as might seem incredible, if we did not know that in those days there were itinerant bishops, who had no settled dioceses. St. David held forth at this council with such force of eloquence, as in a great measure extinguished the flame of Pelagianism, and was created metropolitan over all the churches in the western parts of Britain.

Usher's Antiq. of Brit. church.

An.Ch.560. There was another synod at Landaff, convocated by Oudoceus, the successor of Theliaus, upon a very remarkable occasion. Mauricus, king of Glamorganshire, and Cynetu, another petty sovereign, met at Landaff, and swore a mutual peace upon the relics of their saints: in the sequel, Mauricus, notwithstanding his oath, slew Cynetu in a treacherous manner; when the clergy looking upon themselves as guarantees of the peace, proceeded to ecclesiastical censures; and Oudoceus, in full convocation, excommunicated Mauricus for the murder, and violation of his oath, concluding the sentence with an anathema, imprecating that his days might be few; his children orphans; and his wife, a widow. The king, in consequence of this excommunication, finding himself abandoned by his subjects, humbled himself before the bishop, who absolved him of the curse, on his profession of penitence, and promise to fast, pray, and give alms: yet the interdiction was not removed, until he had given undoubted proofs of his sincerity, in four manors granted to the church of Landaff, for the redemption of his own soul and that of Cynetu, whom he had murdered: a circumstance that entails the suspicion of selfishness upon the memory of the good bishop.

Mauricus king of Glamorganshire, excommunicated.

Spelman's Chron.

Among

* Among all the instances of ecclesiastic authority exercised over the British princes in those days, we find no example of a king's being dethroned, and his place supplied with another, by the apostolical power of the clergy; on the contrary, the following incident plainly proves that they did not conceive themselves to be vested with any such prerogative. Morcant, and Frioc his uncle, two petty princes of Wales, had, according to the fashion of the times, solemnly sworn in presence of St. Oudoceus and his clergy, that if ever the one should murther or betray the other, the offender should not have it in his power to commute his crime for gold or silver, but resign the government of his kingdom, and end his days in pilgrimage. This oath was soon violated by Morcant, who murdered his uncle; and then desired he might buy off the penalty from the church of Landaff. The case was debated in full synod at Landaff; and he was absolved on promise of fasting, praying, and giving alms; that the government might not suffer by his absence, as they had no power to create a new king. This decree not only implies the limited power of the clergy, but is a sure mark of the independency of the British church, which thus proceeded to exert the last stroke of sacerdotal authority without the sanction of Rome, or any pretended superiority of ecclesiastic jurisdiction, to which no delinquent ever dreamed of appealing from the censure of our own prelates.

Morcant absolved of perjury and murder.

The princes of those days must have been extremely barbarous and brutal: for we find there was another synod held at the same place, by the same prelate, upon a similar subject. A certain prince, called Guidnorth, slew his own brother;

* This and the following transactions are extracted from an old manuscript history of the church of Landaff, which contains also a curious detail of the ceremony of the oath and the absolution.

Guidnorth sent to do penance in Britain, for having killed his own brother.

and, being excommunicated by the clergy, ſuffered under the ſentence three whole years, at the expiration of which he had recourſe to Oudoceus, who ſent him in pilgrimage to Samſon archbiſhop of Dole, in Bretagne, where he thought the prince might comfortably accompliſh his penance, as an intimacy ſubſiſted between Samſon and Theliaus of Landaff; and as Guidnorth would be perfectly at his eaſe among people who ſpoke his own language, and owned themſelves of Britiſh extraction. This royal penitent, however, thought the term preſcribed for his penance was too tedious, and returned to Britain before it was expired, in hope of prevailing upon Oudoceus to allow of commutation; and although that good prelate died before he could obtain his conſent, he purchaſed abſolution of his ſucceſſor Berthguin for a valuable conſideration. Beſides theſe councils held by Oudoceus, St. David aſſembled a ſynod at a place called Vittory, in which the acts of the council of Brevy were confirmed, and new regulations made for the better government of the church.

Giral. Camb.

Animoſity between the Engliſh Chriſtians and the Saxon converts.

The chriſtian religion, if we may believe Gildas, never ſuffered more perſecution than it underwent in Britain, from the barbarity of the Saxon pagans, who burned all the cities and churches to the ground from ſea to ſea, and ſtained the altars with the blood of the clergy, after having maſſacred all thoſe whom they found in the exerciſe of the chriſtian religion. We muſt, however, read with caution the writings of a Britiſh author, who ſeems to have been rancorouſly prejudiced againſt the enemies of his country. It has been a conſtant remark in all ages, that no quarrel rages to ſuch a pitch of cruelty and outrage, as that which is inflamed with an ingredient of religion. The Saxons were conſidered, not barely as enemies and invaders of the Britons, but as impious pagans and idolaters, who came to deſtroy

deſtroy the faith, and ſeize the lands of the clergy. Theſe were ſuch aggravations of hoſtile intent, that even when the Britons found themſelves altogether unable to cope with the intruders, the prieſts would not allow them to ſubmit, but wound them up to an enthuſiaſtic fury, which prompted them to ruſh upon the ſwords of their enemies; and all that periſhed by their own madneſs were accounted martyrs to their religion.

We do not find that thoſe who ſubmitted and lived among the conquerors, were moleſted on the ſcore of religion: on the contrary, it appears from St. Gregory's letter to Theodoret and Theobald, kings of the Franks, that the Saxons influenced (without doubt) by the example of thoſe peaceable Britons, diſcovered a deſire to become chriſtians; but that the church of the Britons, from motives of hatred and averſion, refuſed to encourage them in thoſe laudable ſentiments, or to inſtruct them in the principles and doctrines of the true faith: nay, it was this pious diſpoſition which induced that pope to ſend over Auguſtin to complete the work of their converſion. Before his elevation to the pontificate, he chanced one day to paſs through the ſlave-market, where obſerving ſome young men, of engaging aſpects, ſtanding ready to be ſold to the beſt bidder, he inquired about their country, and finding they were Engliſh pagans, was ſeized with an emotion of pity, which did not ariſe from the circumſtances of their ſlavery, but from the thraldom of their ſouls, which were under the dominion of the devil. The good man was ſo much melted by this conſideration, that he reſolved to deliver the whole nation from the tyranny of Satan, and with that view he actually embarked in a ſhip for Britain, when his pious intention was fruſtrated by his popularity in Rome; for his deſign was no ſooner made public, than the citizens preſented a re-

Gregory undertakes the converſion of the Engliſh.

remonſtrance to pope Benedict, requeſting that Gregory might not be ſuffered to abſent himſelf from his evangelical functions in that city; and he was recalled accordingly.

Sends Auguſtin into Britain.

He did not however lay aſide his apoſtolical deſign; for, when he ſucceeded Pelagius in the papal chair, he ordered a monk called Auguſtin, and others of the ſame brotherhood, to undertake the office of miſſionaries in Britain. They obeyed his holineſs, though they had no great ſtomach to the enterprize; but their terrors waxed ſo ſtrong, before they had performed one half of the journey, that they ſent back Auguſtin with a petition to the pope, begging they might be excuſed from a miſſion that muſt neceſſarily expoſe their lives to the moſt imminent danger from the prejudice and barbarity of ſuch a ferocious nation. Nevertheleſs, Gregory would not be diverted from his purpoſe, by the importunities of thoſe poor terrified monks, to whom he diſpatched Auguſtin with a letter to this effect:

"Gregory, ſervant of the ſervants of God, to "the ſervants of our Lord.

"Dearly beloved children,

"Becauſe it had been better not to begin at all, "than to recede even in thought from thoſe things "that are already begun, you muſt fulfil the good "work which, with God's aſſiſtance, you have "undertaken: let not, therefore, your hearts be "appalled by the fatigue of the journey, or the "tongues of malicious men, but proceed under "the guidance and direction of God, with all di-"ligence and fervour to accompliſh the great work "you have ſo happily commenced, in full confi-"dence that in proportion to the greatneſs of the "labour, the glory of your eternal reward will be "augmented. Humbly obey in all things your "returning director Auguſtin, whom we have

"con-

" conſtituted your abbot, well knowing that what-
" ever ſhall be done by his advice, will turn out
" to the advantage of your ſouls in all things.
" May God Almighty protect you with his grace,
" and grant that I may ſee the fruit of your labour
" in that country where our eternal habitation is
" fixed: though I cannot be your fellow-labourer,
" let me rejoice in your reward, as one that wiſhes
" to ſhare your toils. Finally, may God protect
" you from all danger, my deareſt children." Bed. l. i.

At the ſame time, he recommended them ſtrongly to Æthercus, archbiſhop of Arles, deſiring that he would aſſiſt them with all manner of accommodations in their journey; and he ſent letters of the ſame purport to the king and queen of the Franks, by whom they were ſupplied with interpreters, who greatly facilitated the ſucceſs of the miſſion *.

* Britain, even in this age, produced a number of men eminent for piety and learning; the moſt remarkable of whom were Dubricius, St. David, the two Samſons, both archbiſhops of York, and both tranſlated from thence to the archbiſhopric of Dole in Brittany; the ſecond is ſaid to have been of royal birth, and to have carried abroad with him many records relating to his ſee, which never could be recovered. Cadacus, abbot of Lancarvon, was the ſon of a petty prince, and inherited a large family eſtate, which he expended in acts of hoſpitality and munificence, maintaining three hundred poor people, chiefly clergymen, and keeping an open table for all comers. Paternus, deſcended of a noble family of the Armorican Britons, that he might indulge a turn for religious ſolitude, concealed himſelf for ſome time in Ireland, from whence he came over to Wales, where he acquired vaſt reputation for humanity and wiſdom, by which he compromiſed many diſputes, and reconciled the moſt inveterate enemies. While he reſided in Cardiganſhire, he effected by his mediation the celebrated peace among the Britiſh princes, after Arthur's death, lived in great friendſhip with St. David and Theliaus, and laſtly retired to his own country, where he died. Camden tells us, there is ſtill a church ſtanding in Cardiganſhire, dedicated to his memory, under the name of Lhan-Badern-Vaur. St. Theliaus was pupil to St. David, and preferred to the ſee of Landaff; in which he acquired great reputation, which was equalled by that of his ſucceſſor, St. Oudoceus. St. Petroc was a zealous promoter of the chriſtian religion in Ireland, where he lived twenty years, though he was originally of Petrocſtow or Padſtow, in Cornwall: upon his return to Britain he lived in a monaſtery near the Severn, where he inſtructed pupils of the firſt quality. As for St. David, he is ſaid to have died in the hundred and

and forty-fixth year of his age, leaving behind him an unequalled character for eloquence and an exemplary life.

Among theſe worthies we may place St. Kentigern, otherwi e called St. Mongo, who was abbot of Glaſgow, in Scotland; but lived many years in North Wales, where he founded a religious ſociety, and acquired great reputation for learning and piety; then he returned to his own country, where he died in the year 560.

St. Aſaph, a Welchman of noble extraction, was pupil to Kentigern, who made him his ſucceſſor, both in his monaſtery and biſhopric.

St. Columba was an Iriſhman, whoſe evangelic labours were chiefly confined to North Britain.

Gildas ſtudied under Iltutus, and was a monk at Glaſſenbury: he reſided alſo in Brittany, where he wrote his hiſtory, and died about the year 570.

Uſher's Antiq.

Account

Account of the civil and religious government amongſt the SAXONS.

IN order to make the reader acquainted with the genius of the Saxons who ſettled in England, and whoſe hiſtory begins as it were at this period, it will be neceſſary to give a ſuccinct account of their civil and religious government, as well as of the particular cuſtoms by which their character is diſtinguiſhed and aſcertained.

Their government was ariſtocratical; for, tho' the people were conſulted in all affairs of very great conſequence, or fundamental points of conſtitution, and their ſentiments expreſſed in a very tumultuary manner, the authority reſided in a few noblemen, who were no other than chieftains of diſtinct tribes, united for their mutual advantage. Of theſe a certain number was choſen, to ſuperintend the adminiſtration of juſtice; and in time of war one of that number was elected general or king, but his power expired at the return of peace. We are not to look for a ſettled conſtitution among the Saxons, who firſt landed in Britain. They were bold illiterate adventurers, who enliſted as volunteers with commanders of approved valour, under whoſe conduct they hoped to gain an agreeable ſettlement, or reap a plentiful harveſt of plunder. Though they retained the manners and cuſtoms of their own country, it is not to be ſuppoſed they would adhere to the eſtabliſhed forms of government in a military expedition, during which they were obliged to contrive new regulations according to the emergency of their affairs, the character of their leaders, and the inconſtancy or caprice of their own diſpoſition. When they acquired ſettlements in Britain, they formed

formed new ſocieties, and would have naturally adopted the conſtitution of their own country, had not divers circumſtances concurred to ſhew them the expediency of altering the ſyſtem of government. Their leaders had gained an acceſſion of power, in the courſe of their military command; and the ſoldiers, inured to rapine and irregularities, could not be reſtrained within proper bounds, by any civil inſtitution weaker than that of regal authority. Nor without ſuch a power to unite, controul, and command the petty chiefs as well as the commons, could the neceſſary meaſures have been taken for the preſervation of their colonies in a ſtrange country ſurrounded by implacable foes, who exerted their utmoſt vigilance, courage, and activity for their deſtruction. Theſe conſiderations, reinforced by the motives of private intereſt and ambition, induced the communities of the Saxon adventurers in England, to inveſt particular perſons with the kingly prerogative, under ſuch reſtrictions, however, as formed a mutual compact, rendering the ties of allegiance and protection equally binding and reciprocal.

The Saxons inveſt a particular perſon with the ſovereign power.

Before this eſtabliſhment of ſovereign authority, the Saxons aſſembled upon certain days to deliberate upon public affairs; and they generally met in arms. The aſſembly being convened, ſilence was commanded by a prieſt, who ſeems to have had great authority on ſuch occaſions: then, ſome perſon eminent for military virtue, quality or eloquence, ſtood up and harrangued the multitude on the ſubject of their meeting; and his ſpeech was either condemned by a tumultuous noiſe, or applauded by the clattering of their javelins. The common buſineſs of theſe councils was to appoint chiefs for preſiding in their ſeveral diviſions, ſhires, ſtreets, and villages; and each of theſe preſidents

Their original ariſtocracy.

was

was assisted by an hundred commoners by way of assessors *.

Though those consultations were held by the chiefs and people in common, every individual was not admitted to the council, which consisted of such only as wore armour, and no man was entitled to this privilege until he had, by the consent and determination of the council, been formally armed by some relation or godfather with a shield and lance; so that this ceremony seems to have been the original of knighthood. Custom that gave rise to knighthood. Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

The Saxon husband, instead of receiving a portion, settled a dower upon his wife at marriage; and if she proved false to his bed, he was permitted by law to cut off her hair, strip her naked, turn her out of doors, in presence of her relations, and scourge her through the public streets.

The children succeeded to the inheritance of their fathers, without will: but after their settlement in Britain, they found it convenient to alter this institution; as all the property accruing from conquest was personal acquisition, and therefore alienable. Hence their bocland or free tenure, grantable by deed, was deemed alienable by will; whereas all the sons inherited alike the lands held by feofage.

They deemed it necessary to maintain the animosities and feuds as well as the friendships of their fathers: the crime of murder was punished by a fine of cattle, to be distributed among the family of the deceased; and the proprietor of the land prescribed to the farmer the quantity of corn, cattle, or cloth which he was to pay as rent; a custom still observed in North Britain, where the peasants pay in kind. Their family-feuds and punctilios.

* Hence we derive our hundred courts in England; in which the centenarius or hundredarius anciently presided as judge, and all the best men of the county were his assessors and jurors. Brady's Hist. of Eng.

The

The Saxons were divided into three claſſes, namely, the noblemen, freemen, and ſlaves; and one order was reſtricted from contracting alliances of marriage with another. The nobles ſeem to have been very punctilious in preſerving the purity of their blood; a cuſtom which was ſupported by a law in England paſſed even after the date of the Magna charta; for the lord forfeited his wardſhip when convicted of having diſpoſed of his ward in marriage, to his diſparagement; that is, to a woman of inferior rank.

Their divination.

With reſpect to religion, we find they had ſuperſtitions in common with other nations. Their divination was very ſimple, with ſlips of wood cut from a fruit-bearing tree, and diſtinguiſhed by different marks or notches; theſe they mingled and jumbled together in a white cloth; then the prieſt, if it was a public ceremony, or the father of the family, if it was a private augury, implored the aſſiſtance of the gods; and raiſing up his eyes towards heaven, took up a ſlip three times ſucceſſively, and prognoſticated good or evil, according to the marks that chanced to caſt up. They likewiſe divined future events, by the ſinging and flight of birds, as well as from the neighing of horſes, which they conſidered as the miniſters of the gods, and eſpecially thoſe of a white colour; and theſe were fed in woods and groves at the public expence. But, the circumſtance from which they drew their ſureſt preſages touching the event of a war, was the iſſue of a ſingle combat fought between one of their own champions and a captive of the nation againſt which they had commenced hoſtilities.

Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

Particulars of their ſuperſtition.

Their religion bore a ſtrong affinity to that of other nations, with reſpect to the attributes of their deities. Woden was worſhipped as their Mercury, with human ſacrifices, and to him was conſecrated the fourth day of the week. They ſeem to have paid

paid their devotions to Venus under the denomination of Frea, who preſided over the ſixth day; and Tueſday derived its name from Tuyſco, whom they cultivated as the founder of their nation. They likewiſe worſhipped a goddeſs, whom they termed Eoſter, and to her they dedicated the month of April, during which the wind commonly blows from the Eaſt, conſequently favourable to them when they ſet out on their marine expeditions. But their principal patroneſs was Hartha or Earth, whoſe reſidence was in a vehicle covered with a ſacred veſtment, and placed in a conſecrated grove, in a certain iſland of the ocean. This ark was ſometimes carried about by cows, and attended by a prieſt, who alone was permitted to touch the vehicle. While this goddeſs continued in her progreſs and viſitation, joy and feſtivity filled every place ſhe honoured with her preſence; and at her return to the temple or grove, the vehicle and the veſtments were purified in a ſecret lake *.

Their peculiarities and diſpoſition.

With regard to the cuſtoms and diſpoſition of the Saxons, they were extremely hoſpitable, addicted to exceſſive drinking, and quarrelſome in their cups; they were a blunt, honeſt people, without guile or much ingenuity, who loved to carouſe all night long at their malt liquor; upon which occaſions they delivered their ſentiments with ſuch indelicate freedom, that the company ſeldom parted without bloodſhed; yet, they were as open to reconciliation as prone to anger. They were ſo infatuated in their attachment to games of chance, that a man, after having loſt all his effects, very

* Beſides theſe, the Saxons worſhipped the ſun and the moon, repreſented by different idols. The god Thor was their principal deity that preſided over the thunder. Seater or Crodo, who gave his name to Saturday, was another of their gods. They likewiſe adored the idols Ermanſewl and Flint, which laſt was repreſented under the figure of a ſkeleton. Vide Verſtegan, p. 53. and Adam Bremenſis.

often

often played away his liberty, and allowed himself to be sold for a slave. They were grosly ignorant of arts and sciences, had little taste for agriculture; their funerals were conducted with great simplicity, and their mourning soon laid aside.

Their capital punishments were hanging and drowning; and lesser offences were attoned by paying certain mulcts in horses or cattle, part of which was given to the plaintiff, and the rest appropriated by the judge. As for the trials by fire and water, they were not yet practised by the Germans. They were habited in loose cassocks, armed with shields, spears, and daggers, or short swords; they were Herculean in make, robust in constitution, intrepid in danger, active in emergency, inured to fatigue, accustomed to rapine, savage of heart, and particularly cruel to their prisoners, whom they barbarously decimated, putting every tenth captive to death by the most excruciating tortures.

Tacit. de Mor. Germ. Sidon, l. viii. Symmach. l. ii.

A ge-

A general plan and diviſion of the SAXON HEPTARCHY.

The kingdom of KENT.

WE have already ſeen that Auguſtin and ſome fellow-labourers were diſmiſſed by Gregory biſhop of Rome, in order to convert thoſe ignorant and boiſterous Saxons, who had been ſo much occupied in tumults of war and neceſſary regulations touching their civil government, that hitherto they had found no time nor opportunity to conſider the difference of religions, much leſs to be influenced, dazzled, and convinced by the truth and purity of the chriſtian doctrine; for the number of individuals, who had already embraced the faith, was but inconſiderable when compared to the bulk of the nation. As this was certainly the caſe, Auguſtin would in all probability have found his miſſion very troubleſome and hazardous, if he had not met with a powerful patroneſs in Bertha, conſort of Ethelbert king of Kent, who had already made an impreſſion on the mind of her huſband, by her virtuous conduct, benevolence, and diſcretion, manifeſted in a courſe of thirty years which they lived together. By the articles of her marriage, ſhe enjoyed the free exerciſe of her religion, and was attended by a venerable prelate called Luidhard, who officiated in a church dedicated to St. Martin, which had been built by the Romans near the walls of Canterbury. The exemplary conduct and powerful preaching of this primitive biſhop, co-operated with the queen's learning and zeal, in giving a favourable idea of the chriſtian

The Kentiſh king Ethelbert prepared for receiving the doctrines of Chriſtianity by his queen Bertha.

An.Ch.597. religion to Ethelbert himself, as well as his courtiers, who by this time had even discovered a desire of being converted; so that the vineyard was well prepared when Augustin landed in the isle of Thanet with forty labourers, including a great many French clergymen, well versed in the English tongue, with whom he was supplied by Brunehaut regent of Austrasia and Burgundy, a prince remarkable for his good sense and piety.

Augustin lands on the isle of Thanet, and the king embraces the christian faith.

Upon his first landing he sent one of his interpreters to the Kentish king, declaring he was come from Rome with offers of eternal salvation; and in the mean time he and his followers lay in the open air, that they might not, by entering a Saxon house, subject themselves to the power of heathen necromancy. The king immediately ordered them to be furnished with all necessaries, and even visited them in the isle of Thanet, though he did not declare himself a convert until after they had fixed their residence in Canterbury, where, by their sermons in St. Martin's chapel, the austerity and innocence of their manners, and certain miracles, which had an effect upon the vulgar, they had gained a great number of proselytes, and prepossessed the whole kingdom in their favour. Then the king openly espoused the christian religion; and Augustin, who had received episcopal ordination from the primate of Arles, erected Christchurch into a cathedral. The heathen temples, being purified and hallowed, were converted into places of worship, and the churches which had decayed were repaired; a seminary for learning was opened, the abbey of St. Augustin founded; and this apostle being now in possession of the see of Canterbury, endeavoured to extend his authority, and constitute himself metropolitan over a number of suffragans. With this view he had recourse to Gregory, who invested him with power over all the

the Britiſh biſhops, and in the ſequel indulged him with a grant of juriſdiction over all the Saxon prelates to be ordained, as Chriſtianity ſhould gain ground in England *. Mean while the miſſionaries, having ſpread themſelves over all the country, reaped a plentiful harveſt of converſion, which was not a little ripened by the example of the king, who after having been fully inſtructed in all the duties and myſteries of his new religion, thought it high time to beſtow ſome attention upon the temporal concerns of his people. An. Ch. 597. Greg. Turon. l. ix. Bed. E. H. l. i.

In theſe ſentiments he, by the advice of the wiſeſt men in his dominions, ordered a body of laws to be digeſted and engroſſed in the Engliſh language, that no perſon might plead ignorance in excuſe of tranſgreſſion. After this tranſaction we hear nothing of this prince, but that he reigned one and twenty years after his converſion, during which his pious queen Bertha dying, he eſpouſed a French princeſs, who did not walk in the footſteps of her predeceſſor. Compiles a body of laws.

Ethelbert, ending his days in peace, was ſucceeded by his ſon Eadbald, a profligate prince, who not only relapſed into Paganiſm, but alſo rioted in all manner of debauchery, not even ſcrupling to take his mother-in-law to his bed. But, he was afterwards reformed by the admonitions of Laurentius ſucceſſor to Auguſtin in the ſee of Canterbury; put away his inceſtuous wife, and not only employed the reſt of his life in acts of penitence and devotion, but contributed in a great meaſure to the converſion of Edwin, king of the Northumbrians, who married his ſiſter Ethelburga, after Eadbald had ſtipulated that ſhe and all her retinue An. Ch. 616. An. Ch. 633.

* Together with this grant he received a pall, to be uſed only for divine ſervice. It was a rich and magnificent robe of ſtate, part of the imperial habit, allowed to the biſhops of Rome by the favour of Conſtantine. Maria de concord. Sacerdot.

An.Ch.639. ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of the chriſtian religion. At the ſame time he prevailed upon Paulinus, a learned biſhop, to accompany the princeſs to the court of her husband; and it was owing to the zeal and abilities of this reverend prelate, ſeconding the remonſtrances of his queen, that Edwin afterwards embraced the true faith. Eadbald, notwithſtanding his penitence, devotion, and donatives to the church, ſeems to have been a weak prince; for, even the monkiſh hiſtorians allow, that he never could rival the greatneſs of his father.

Bede, l. ii.

Leaves his crown to his ſecond ſon Ercombert.

His life, however, after his reformation, was irreproachable, and he reigned two and twenty years in tranquillity, leaving two ſons, namely Ermenfred and Ercombert, the latter of whom ſucceeded him on the throne to the prejudice of his elder brother, who ſubmitted to this diſpoſition of the father on Ercombert's faithfully promiſing that the ſons of Ermenfred ſhould enjoy the kingdom after his death. This reſtitution, however, was never made, although Ercombert was a zealous chriſtian, who ordered the heathen temples to be razed to the ground, and the idols to be hewn in pieces. He lived but four years after his acceſſion to the throne, and left two ſons called Egbert and Lotharius.

G. Thorn.

Egbert cauſes his two nephews to be murdered.

The firſt of theſe, inſtead of acting as guardian to his nephews, who were the true heirs of the crown, reſolved to deprive them of their lives, as he had already robbed them of their inheritance, and found one of his nobles baſe enough to undertake ſuch a deteſtable enterprize; the name of this wretch was Thunner, who, having murdered the innocents, threw their bodies into a river, where they were found floating, by the country people, and interred in the abbey of Ramſay. Egbert, dreading the conſequence of this diſcovery, as well as the intereſt of Dorneva, ſiſter to the murdered princes,

princes, who by their death inherited their title, affected the utmoſt candour and remorſe; and ſhe relinquiſhed her claim in conſideration of ſome lands in the iſle of Thanet, where ſhe founded a monaſtery. An. Ch. 673.

After this expiation of his guilt, his reign was mild and peaceable, during nine years, at the expiration of which he died, leaving two ſons called Edrick and Widred, who did not immediately ſucceed their father, in imitation of whom their uncle and guardian Lotharius ſeized the ſovereignty.

This uſurper, having maintained his ſway ten years without interruption, wanted to ſecure the crown of Kent to his poſterity, by aſſociating his ſon Richard upon the throne. His nephew Edrick withdrew from court, and implored the aſſiſtance of Adelwalch king of Suſſex, who aſſembled an army to aſſert his pretenſions. With theſe ſuccours Edrick, marching into Kent, gave battle to his uncle, who was defeated, and died of the wounds he received in the action. This victory ſecured Edrick in poſſeſſion of the crown; while his couſin Richard retiring into Germany, married the ſiſter of Boniface archbiſhop of Mentz, by whoſe intereſt he is ſaid to have been elected king of Suabia. As for the victor, he reigned but two years, in the midſt of tumult and confuſion, occaſioned by the efforts of the laſt king's party, and the diſputes about the ſucceſſion. Lotharius defeated by Edrick, who mounts the throne. Offic. Eccl. Andr. in feſto Ric.

During theſe commotions, Ceadwalla king of Weſſex invaded Kent, and ravaged the country without oppoſition, till at length the Kentiſhmen, taking to their arms, defeated their enemies; and Mollo, the brother of Ceadwalla, retiring into a houſe with twelve followers, defended himſelf with heroic reſolution; but the Kentiſhmen ſetting fire to the building, he and his gallant companions periſhed in the flames. His brother, who loved him Kent invaded by Mollo the brother of the king of Weſſex.

An.Ch.673. tenderly, did not leave his death unrevenged; but entering Kent at the head of a powerful army, burned, wasted, and destroyed every thing that fell in his way.

J. Brompt. Thorn. Polychron. l.v.

Withred assumes the reins of government in Kent,

Kent was by this time reduced to such a deplorable situation, by external enemies and intestine divisions, that no prince had interest or spirit enough to assume the reins of government, and an interregnum, or rather an anarchy of six years ensued. At last Withred, brother of the last king, having found means to allay the fury of civil discord, by his temper and sagacity, ascended the throne, purchased a peace of his enemies, and shared his government with one Swabert, whose interest had enabled him to retrieve the inheritance of his father. This colleague survived his elevation about four years, during which no disturbance invaded the quiet of the kingdom; and after his death Withred reigned twelve years alone, so as to acquire the esteem and affection of his subjects, who found themselves happy under his administration.

An.Ch.725. and is succeeded by his son Edbert,

He ended his days in peace, and his crown devolved to his son Edbert, whose reign was pacific like that of his father; and he governed the kingdom three and twenty years in profound tranquillity: indeed this monarchy was now reduced to so low an ebb in point of importance, that it neither excited the jealousy, nor tempted the avarice of the neighbouring princes.

An.Ch.748. His crown devolves to Edelbert.

Edbert's crown (as he had no issue) was inherited at his death, by his second brother Edelbert, who imitated the virtues of his predecessor, and associated in the government his own son Ardulph, whom he survived: after a quiet reign of eleven years, he resigned his life, and his crown became the property of his younger brother Aldrick, who was frequently attacked by the neighbouring princes, among whom Offa king of Mercia was the most violent

violent aggreſſor. Allured by the proſpect of conquering Kent, which was now almoſt incapable of defending itſelf, he entered the kingdom, at the head of an army; and Aldrick aſſembling his whole force, made a ſtand at Otford, where he ſuſtained an overthrow, which would have proved fatal to the independency of his crown, had not the victor been hindered from completing the reduction of Kent, by the jealouſy of the other kings, and more particularly by the danger that threatened his own country, which was invaded by the Welſh. An.Ch.748.

Aldrick's ſon Alcmund dying before his father, who was now the laſt of the Hengiſt race, the crown, at his deceaſe, was diſputed by thoſe who had engroſſed the greateſt ſhare of wealth, intereſt, and power, and fell into the hands of one Edelbert, ſurnamed Prin, who reigned two years in peace, but was afterwards invaded, vanquiſhed, and taken priſoner by Cenulph, king of Mercia. The victor carried him into captivity, deprived him of his eye-ſight, and filled the vacant throne of Kent with one Cudrid, who abſolutely depended upon his will, and paid him a yearly tribute. After this tributary prince had reigned eight years, as the vaſſal of Cenulph, he died; and was, by the permiſſion of the Mercian king, ſucceeded by his ſon Baldred, in whoſe reign the Saxon heptarchy was diſſolved: being defeated by Egbert, he fled to the other ſide of the Thames, and died in obſcurity, while his dominions lying at the mercy of the conqueror, became a province of the Weſt Saxons, after they had been ruled three hundred and ſeventy-two years, as a ſeparate kingdom. An.Ch.794. Kent becomes a province to the kingdom of the Weſt Saxons. Malmeſb. l. i. Sim. Dunelm. An.Ch.805.

The kingdom of SUSSEX, or the SOUTH SAXONS.

An.Ch.476. Ælla, founder of the kingdom of Suſſex,

The kingdom of Suſſex was one of the leaſt conſiderable of all the Heptarchy, as it contained only the two provinces of Suſſex and Surry, the greateſt part of which was covered with a vaſt foreſt, which the Saxons called Andreds-wald, from its antient name Anderida. The greateſt extent of this petty kingdom, amounted to fifty miles in length, and about forty in breadth, bounded on the north by the river Thames, by the ſea on the ſouth, by Kent on the eaſt, and Weſſex on the weſt. The capital was Chicheſter, built by Ciſſa, ſon of the firſt king Ælla, the manner of whoſe arrival in England we have already related. He was one of the moſt illuſtrious Saxon chiefs, who founded this ſmall monarchy, notwithſtanding the formidable oppoſition of the Britons commanded by Arthur; and for his proweſs and capacity was, at the death of Hengiſt, choſen head of the Saxon confederacy.

An.Ch.514. He died after a reign of three and twenty years, reckoned from his coronation to his death, and left his kingdom in peace to Ciſſa, whoſe reign is remarkable for nothing but its long duration, excluſive of his building the city we have mentioned, and Cisbury, of which no veſtiges remain. Inſtead of ſupporting his father's glory, according to the promiſe of his younger years, he contented himſelf with the character of a pacific prince, and even paid a yearly proportion of money and troops to Cerdic, king of Weſſex, who had raiſed himſelf to the chief command of the Saxon communities.

An.Ch.590. Suſſex invaded by Ceaulin.

Ciſſa dying without iſſue, after a reign of twenty-ſix years, his kingdom was invaded, and his crown uſurped by Ceaulin, king of Weſſex and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons; and this uſurpation was one cauſe

cauſe of the league which was formed againſt him. Nevertheleſs, his nephew Ceolric, by whom he was vanquiſhed and diſpoſſeſſed, ſtill retained Suſſex as part of his conqueſt. Not that the South Saxons ſubmitted quietly to the yoke; on the contrary, they made divers attempts to recover their independence. They revolted againſt Ceolwulph, king of Weſſex, who reduced them to obedience. Their next effort met with better ſucceſs: for, during the exile of Cenowalch, king of Weſſex, which had fallen under the dominion of the Mercian king Penda, they ſeized this opportunity of inveſting Adelwalch with the regal authority.

An.Ch.590.

Reduced by Ceolwulph, and recovers its independency.

An.Ch.648.

The kingdom of Weſſex was ſo weakened by the invaſion of Penda, who poſſeſſed it three whole years, that Cenowalch, after his reſtoration, could not undertake the enterprize of dethroning the new king of Suſſex; for he himſelf was attacked by Wolphur, king of Mercia, who worſted him in divers encounters; and afterwards penetrating into Suſſex, defeated Adelwalch, whom he took priſoner in the battle, and made himſelf maſter of that kingdom and the iſle of Wight. The captivity of the vanquiſhed king turned to his advantage, inaſmuch as he was converted by his conqueror, who not only ſet him at liberty, but made him a preſent of the iſle of Wight, which he had ſubdued. This ſeems to have been given as an addition to his own kingdom, in which he re-aſſumed the ſway after Wolphur's death, and ruled peaceably until his dominions were again invaded by Ceadwalla, a prince of the Weſt Saxons, againſt whom he took the field, and a battle enſued, in which he was defeated, and ſlain.

Adelwalch is defeated and taken by Wolphur, king of Mercia.

An.Ch.686.

Yet even after the death of Adelwalch, the conqueror met with a ſtrong oppoſition from Authun and Berthun, two of his generals, who had juſt returned from an expedition into Kent; and before he

An.Ch.686. he could make himself master of the throne of Sussex, the king of Wessex dying he returned to that kingdom, where he mounted the throne: while Malmesb. l. iii. Ann. Sax. Bede, l. iv. Authun and Berthun were crowned joint monarchs of Sussex. They did not however long enjoy their elevation without disturbance. Ceadwalla was no sooner established in Wessex, than he denounced war against them, and gained a battle, in which An.Ch.722. Berthun lost his life. Nevertheless, Authun still possessed the crown dependent upon the conqueror, who, when that prince died, would not suffer the vacant throne to be filled. The South Saxons made divers efforts to deliver themselves from this subjection; but, their measures being ill-concerted, they were wholly reduced by Ina, king of Wessex, An.Ch.725. and remained quiet for three years, at the expiration of which, they seized the opportunity of some intestine troubles in Wessex, and conferred the sovereign power upon Albert, who was vanquished and slain by Ina, under whom the two kingdoms An.Ch.780. were united. Even after all these disasters, the South Saxons revolted while Sigibert occupied the throne of Wessex, and constituted Osmond their king; but, in all probability they were again subdued by Cenulph the successor of Sigibert; for from this period their country was considered as a Flor. Wig. Bede, l. v. province appended to the kingdom of Wessex.

The kingdom of WESSEX.

The extent of Wessex. In the Heptarchy were two English kingdoms, and one Saxon monarchy, which greatly surpassed the rest in grandeur and power, namely, Northumberland; Mercia, occupying the whole space between the Humber, the Thames, and the Severne; and Wessex, situated to the southward of the Thames, extending in breadth about seventy miles from the Thames to the Channel, and in length one

one hundred and fifty, from the frontiers of Suſſex to the river Tamer, which divided Cornwall from Wales. The principal cities of this monarchy were Wincheſter the capital, Southampton, Portſmouth, Salisbury, Dorcheſter, Sherborn, and Exeter, in which a great number of Britons had mingled with the Saxons; and the iſle of Wight (as we have already obſerved) was at firſt an appendage to this kingdom of the Weſt Saxons, ſo called from their ſituation in reſpect of their countrymen, who had ſettled in Suſſex, Kent, and Eſſex. An.Ch.519.

We have already given a circumſtantial account of Cerdic the founder of this monarchy, to whom Arthur ceded the two provinces of Hants and Somerſet; and whoſe kingdom was afterwards augmented by the addition of Berks, Wilts, Devonſhire and Dorſet, which were yielded to him by a treaty with Mordred. We have likewiſe mentioned the pacific reign of his ſon Kenric, whoſe tranquillity was never interrupted but once, by a war with the Britons, whom he defeated. Nor have we omitted to relate the particular incidents that occurred in the turbulent reign of his ſon Ceaulin, whoſe ambition and power attracted the jealouſy and hatred of the other Saxon princes, to which he fell a ſacrifice. Founded by Cerdic. An.Ch.552.

In conſequence of the league that was formed againſt him, his crown devolved to his nephew Ceolric, whoſe reign is diſtinguiſhed by no tranſaction of moment. But, he was ſucceeded by Ceolwulf, the ſon of Cutha, an active prince, whoſe ſucceſs againſt the South Saxons we have already mentioned. His whole life was a continual ſcene of action either againſt the Scots and Picts, or Redwald, who had raiſed himſelf to the head of the Saxon confederacy. He proſpered in all his encounters, and was ſucceeded by his nephew Cinegils, An.Ch.592. Ceolwulph is ſucceeded by Cinegils. Speed. Hunting.

An.Ch.592. gils, who, in about a year after his coronation, aſſociated his ſon Quinchelm in the government.

The Britons defeated at Banton. Their reign was ſignalized by a battle, which they fought with the Britons, who from ſome motive, of which we are now ignorant, took the field againſt them, and the two armies met at Beandune or Banton, ſuppoſed to be a place on the borders of Somerſetſhire. The glittering of the Saxon arms, their battle-axes, long ſpears, and firm compacted battalions, ſtruck a panic into the hearts of the Britons, which greatly conduced to their overthrow; for they made but a faint reſiſtance, and were totally defeated, with the loſs of two thouſand

An.Ch.615. men killed upon the field of battle.

Cinegils and Quinchelm fight a battle with Penda. The two Saxon princes were afterwards involved in a war with Penda king of Mercia, though the cauſe of the quarrel is no more known than the progreſs of their arms, until they fought the battle near Cirenceſter, which was maintained with equal obſtinacy on both ſides, until night parted the combatants, who reſolved to renew the fight in the morning: but, day-light preſented ſuch a diſmal ſcene of ſlaughter to their eyes, that they were mutually affected with the loſs they had ſuſtained, and foreſeeing nothing but the deſtruction of both armies in another battle, they opened a conference,

Chron. Sax. and a treaty of peace was immediately concluded.

The other tranſactions that diſtinguiſhed the reign of thoſe two Saxon princes, will be related in the hiſtory of thoſe kingdoms which they conquered; we ſhall only obſerve that Cinegils' converſion was effected by the ſermons and exhortations of an Italian monk called Berinus, inforced by the political conſiderations of an advantageous alliance with Oſwald king of Northumberland, who profeſſed the chriſtian religion, and married Kiniberg daughter of the Weſſexian prince. His brother or ſon Quinchelm did not immediately follow his example;

ample; but being afterwards ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, embraced the true faith, and died immediately after his baptiſm. Cinegils ſurvived him about ſeven years, and then reſigned his breath, after a glorious reign, in which he and his colleague had acquired the reputation of great and virtuous princes. An.Ch.615. An.Ch.636. Malmeſb.

His ſucceſſor was his own ſon Cenwal, a weak prince, who inherited nothing of the father but his crown. He married the ſiſter of Penda king of Mercia, whom he repudiated without any cauſe aſſigned, and then renounced the chriſtian religion. Penda, incenſed at the outrage offered to his ſiſter, invaded the dominions of this licentious prince, whom he routed, and obliged to fly for refuge to the Eaſt Anglian court, where he was, during a reſidence of three years, reformed by the pious admonition of Annas the Eaſt Anglian monarch, and afterwards re-eſtabliſhed on the throne which Penda had poſſeſſed in his abſence *. Either this prince or ſome other competitor found means to kindle a civil war in his dominions; for, he fought a battle with his own ſubjects at Bradford near the river Avon in Northamptonſhire. Cenwal expelled by Penda. An.Ch.652.

The Britons, encouraged by the inteſtine commotions of Cenwal's kingdom, and the damage he had ſuſtained from the arms of Penda, aſſembled an army and entered his dominions: Cenwal, advancing with his forces to oppoſe them, was attacked at a hill called Pene in Somerſetſhire, with ſuch fury that his Saxons began to give ground; but diſdaining the thoughts of being worſted by an The Britons are vanquiſhed at the hill of Pene.

* In all probability Penda ſet up his couſin Cuthred, the ſon of Quinchelm, as the rightful heir of the crown; and this pretender was ſo powerfully ſupported, that Cenwal was glad to come to a compoſition, and purchaſed a renunciation of Cuthred's claim, with three thouſand hides of land, which were granted to that prince, near Aſhton, in Northamptonſhire. Sax. Chron.

enemy,

An.Ch.658. enemy, whom they had so often defeated, they recollected all their courage and resolution; and returning to the charge with redoubled vigour, obtained a complete victory. Though the Britons were thus effectually quelled, he found himself still embroiled with the Mercians, whose king Wulphur seems to have inherited his predecessor's enmity to Cenwal, over whom he gained a considerable advantage in the battle of Pontesbury in Shropshire; for, he ravaged the country as far as Ashton, and in the course of that same year subdued the isle of Wight. After this event Cenwal lived eleven years, during which he enjoyed some respite from the turmoils of war and civil discord, and dying, left his crown to his wife Saxeburga *.

Hunting.

An.Ch.661.

An.Ch.672. Chron. Sax.

She was a princess of great courage and understanding, who, in all probability, would have governed her dominions with equal capacity and success, had not death prevented the execution of her projects, after she had sat about twelve months upon the throne.

Escuin succeeds to the throne of Wessex.

At her decease the nobles divided the kingdom among themselves, though it appears that this aristocracy was not of long duration; for, in the course of the year that succeeded Saxeburga's death, we find the kingdom possessed by Escuin, descended from the famous Cerdic. This prince had not swayed the sceptre of Wessex two whole years, when he was engaged in a war with Wulphur king of Mercia, whose army he engaged at Bedanheafd, supposed to be Bedwin in Wiltshire, where a bloody battle was fought with great slaughter on both sides, though the advantage remained with the Mercian: but, he did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory, which preceded his death but a few

An.Ch.675. Hunting.

* We learn from the Saxon Chronicle, that in the first year of his reign, he built St. Peter's church at Winchester,

months;

months; and Eſcuin died about two years after he aſcended the throne. He was ſucceeded by Centwin, another ſon of the late king Cinegils, who obtained ſeveral victories over the Britons, whom he repelled even to the weſtern ſhore; and his ſucceſs obliged their king Cadwallader to go in perſon, and demand ſuccours of the king of Armorica. That prince afterwards made a journey to Rome, where he died. An.Ch.676. His ſucceſſor is Centwin,

Towards the latter end of Centwin's reign, he conceived a jealouſy of his kinſman Ceadwalla, a prince of great hopes, who had won the affections of the people, and acquired a popularity which Centwin thought dangerous to his throne. He therefore ordered him to quit the kingdom; and he retired into Suſſex with a numerous train of attendants in arms, ſo as to give umbrage to Adelwalch ſovereign of that country, who aſſembled a body of troops to expel that adventurer, and (as we have already obſerved) loſt his life in the attempt. The victorious Ceadwalla wanted to ſeize the throne of Suſſex, but was prevented by the valour of Authun and Berthun; and Centwin dying in the interim, he returned to Weſſex, of which he was elected king, without oppoſition. who baniſhes Ceadwalla. An.Ch.686. Ann. Sax.

Whatever happineſs the conduct of his youth might have promiſed to his ſubjects, certain it is he was ſavage and cruel almoſt beyond example. After having terminated the war againſt Authun and Berthun to his own advantage, he invaded and ravaged the country of Kent; and afterwards attacked the iſle of Wight, which had depended upon the kingdom of Suſſex, ever ſince Wulphur had beſtowed it upon Adelwalch. Arwalt brother of Authun was at that time governor of the iſland, which he attempted to defend; but being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to retire and leave the inhabitants at the mercy of the victor, who Ceadwalla butchers the inhabitants of the iſle of Wight.

An.Ch.686. who behaved upon this occaſion with ſuch brutal barbarity as muſt render his name infamous to all poſterity. Being apprehenſive that the people of the iſle of Wight would take the firſt opportunity of withdrawing their necks from his yoke, he reſolved to exterminate them on pretence of their being idolators; and actually executed this cruel maſſacre upon all the inhabitants, except two hundred families, which with their lands and effects he preſented to his prime miniſter Wilfred, biſhop of Selſey, who accepted of the donation with a view to convert thoſe poor ſouls to Chriſtianity. Two ſons of Arwalt made ſhift to eſcape to Stoneham, in Hampſhire, where they for ſome time concealed themſelves from the cruelty of this tyrant; but at laſt they were diſcovered and put to death, after the abbot of Reodford, now Redbridge, had been permitted to make them proſelytes to the chriſtian religion, of which Ceadwallla's conduct muſt have certainly given them a very ſublime and favourable idea. For, though he had not yet formally abjured paganiſm, he affected great zeal for the church, and even beſtowed upon it a tythe of all the ſpoils and plunder he had made: a very effectual attonement, in conſideration of which the clergy gave him abſolution for all the villanies he could perpetrate.

He is baptized by pope Sergius II.

Kent likewiſe felt the inhumanity of his diſpoſition, when he took vengeance on that country for the death of his brother Mollo. At length he ſet out for Rome, to receive baptiſm from the hands of the pope, who could not refuſe that favour to ſuch a munificent benefactor of the church. He was accordingly chriſtened by Sergius II. who beſtowed upon him the name of Peter; and dying ſoon after his baptiſm, was buried in St. Peter's church, where his tomb is diſtinguiſhed by an inſcription,

ſcription, ſignifying his name, age, quality, and time of his deceaſe. An.Ch.686.

The two ſons he left by his wife Cenditha being minors, he was ſucceeded by his kinſman * Ina, the moſt renowned and illuſtrious of all the kings who had reigned in England ſince the eſtabliſhment of the Saxon heptarchy. In leſs than a year after he mounted the throne of Weſſex, he was declared monarch of the Anglo-Saxons; a remarkable proof of the great character he had already acquired. One of the firſt ſteps he took after his elevation to the ſupreme authority, was to compile a body of laws which ſerved as the groundwork of thoſe afterwards publiſhed by Alfred: he likewiſe convoked a general council of the clergy; in which it was determined that all the churches, monaſteries, and places of religious worſhip, which had gone to ruin or decay, ſhould be forthwith rebuilt and repaired; and indeed the monkiſh hiſtorians have been ſo engroſſed with his pious benefactions, that they have given a very confuſed detail of the other incidents in his reign. Certain it is, he marched into Kent in order to take further vengeance for the death of his kinſman Mollo, and the king of that country purchaſed his forbearance with a large ſum of money.

Is ſucceeded by Ina, who compiles a body of laws. An.Ch.688.

His next expedition was againſt the Britons of Cornwall, part of whoſe country he reduced under his own dominion: then he declared war againſt Ceolred, king of Mercia, though we are ignorant of the provocation, and the two armies meeting at Woodenberg, in Wilts, fought an obſtinate battle, in which Ina gained the advantage; and laſtly, he ſubdued the South Saxons, who had revolted and ſet up a king of their own. An.Ch.715.

His wars with the Britons, Mercians, and South Saxons. Malmeſ. Polychron. Ann. Sax.

* He was grandſon of Ceolwald, deſcended in a direct line from Cerdic.

An.Ch. 715. His munificence to the church, journey to Rome, and abdication.

But that which dignified his character, in the eyes of the clergy, above all his military exploits, was his munificence to the church, and the resignation of his crown, to which he was persuaded partly by his own conscience, and partly by the pious suggestions of his wife Ethelburga. Before he executed this resolution, which was unworthy of a great prince, he made a journey to Rome, in order to confer with pope Gregory II. and during his residence in that city erected the English college, for the reception of the ecclesiastics that should go thither from England, and the entertainment of the English kings and princes, who might be seized with an inclination to go and visit the tombs of the apostles. For the maintenance of this college and the adjoining church, he assigned as a fund the famous tax of Peter Pence, which, though at first an elemosynary donation, was in the sequel claimed by the popes as a legal revenue. He revisited his own country, in order to establish this imposition, and take leave of his wife Ethelburga, who retired into the monastery of Berking: then returning to Rome, he assumed the habit of a monk, and died in contempt and obscurity.

An.Ch. 727.

Succeeded by Ethelhard.

At his departure from England, he left the crown to his kinsman Ethelhard, who ascended the throne with the consent of the general assembly; though, notwithstanding this sanction, it was disputed with him by Oswald, a prince of the blood, who found means to interest a great part of the kingdom in his cause: but the king, who was better supported, having defeated him in a pitched battle, he did not long survive his overthrow; and Ethelhard's reign was molested by no other disturbance, during the sixteen years he lived after his coronation.

An.Ch. 743. Cuthred defeats the Britons,

His authority devolved to his relation Cuthred, who in the beginning of his reign was embroiled with Ethelbald king of Mercia; but that difference being

being compromiſed, they united their forces and marched againſt the Britons, who were totally defeated at Cornwall. In about two years after this atchievement, he loſt his ſon Kenric, who was ſlain in a ſedition of the ſoldiers, excited by a nobleman whoſe name was Ethelul; and this officer putting himſelf at the head of an handful of revolters, fought with ſuch amazing courage, that he was with great difficulty overpowered by the whole force of the king, who, admiring his valour and capacity, not only pardoned his crime, but appointed him general of his army; a ſtation in which he juſtified Cuthred's generoſity and judgment. Another rupture happening between this prince and Ethelbald, king of Mercia, Ethelul commanded the army of the Weſt Saxons, and to his proweſs alone his maſter owed the victory which was obtained over the Mercians. An.Ch.743. and obtains a victory over the Mercians. An.Ch.754. Bede, Cont. An. Saxon.

Cuthred afterwards led his victorious troops againſt the Britons of Cornwall, part of which he united to his own kingdom, and died in the fourteenth year of his reign, leaving his crown to his nephew Sigebert.

This worthleſs prince ſoon incurred the contempt and hatred of his ſubjects, by his impotence of mind, debauchery, and cruel diſpoſition; inſpired by which, he murdered one of his own counts, out of meer wantonneſs. His ſubjects alarmed at theſe outrages, removed him from the throne, to which they raiſed Kenewulf, a prince of the blood, who allowed the depoſed monarch the revenues of Hampſhire for his ſubſiſtence. But, not contented with the comforts of a private ſtation, he began to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate; and being driven from his poſſeſſions, fled for ſhelter to the foreſt of Anderida, in which he was ſlain by a ſwineherd. Sigebert is dethroned, and his throne given toKenewulf,

Kenewulf, in order to divert his ſubjects from examining too nicely his title to the throne, which who is murdered by Cunehard.

An.Ch.754. could not bear inquiry, while his predeceſſor's brother Cunehard was ſtill in being, reſolved to gild over the flaw with the glory of his military atchievements, and turned his arms againſt the Britons, over whom he acquired many ſignal victories. But, ſtill he looked with an eye of jealouſy upon Cunehard, who perceiving his diſquiet, reſolved to prevent the conſequences of it; and having engaged ſome adherents in the enterprize, took an opportunity of falling upon the king, in the houſe of a lady whom that prince uſed to viſit in private. Kenewulf, thus attacked, defended himſelf with great valour, and even wounded his adverſary, but was overpowered by numbers, and fell dead upon the ſpot. The few noblemen who attended him thither, broke into the apartment, and were all cut in pieces by the conſpirators. But, Cunehard did not long enjoy the fruits of his execrable treaſon; for, next morning, the friends of the king, headed by Oſric the eolderman and Wiverth his thane, advanced againſt the regicides; and though Cunehard endeavoured to bring them over to his intereſt with large promiſes of honours and rewards, they diſdained his offers, broke down the gates of the town to which he had retired, and as he refuſed to ſurrender, attacked him ſword in hand. The traitor, thus beſet, fought with deſperate courage; till at laſt, he and all his accomplices were cut in pieces.

Malmeſb. Hunting. Hoveden.

Having thus revenged the murder of their king, and performed his funeral obſequies at Wincheſter, they filled the vacant throne with his ſon Brithric, who was a prince of a pacific diſpoſition, and piqued himſelf more upon making his people happy under a well regulated adminiſtration, than in acquiring a leſs ſolid reputation for military exploits. Notwithſtanding this meekneſs and moderation, he could not help conceiving an ungenerous jealouſy from

Brithric, his ſucceſſor, conceives a jealouſy of Egbert,

from the great qualities of Egbert, a prince of the blood, whose amiable character had won the affections of the people. He no sooner discovered the dangerous predicament in which he stood, than he retired to the court of Offa the Mercian king, where meeting with a cold reception, on account of a match which was at that juncture concluded between Brithric and Offa's daughter Edburga, he made a voyage to France, where Charlemagne received him with great hospitality, and on different occasions honoured him with singular marks of esteem. He resided at the court of this great prince about twelve years, during which he improved his natural talents with such cultivation and experience, as afterwards enabled him to execute the grand project of uniting the different kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons into one monarchy. Flor. Wig.

An.Ch.754.

who retires to the court of Charlemagne.

At this period, the Danes had rendered themselves famous for the same piratical practices by which the Saxons had been formerly distinguished; they were now become terrible to all the northern coasts of Europe, and in the course of their expeditions, a body of them landed from three ships at Portland. A descent made by such an inconsiderable number, did not much alarm the neighbourhood; the magistrate of the district marched with a small force, in order to take them prisoners, and convey them to Dorchester jail; but they soon convinced him of his mistake, and attacked him with such fury that he and almost all his followers were slain. Aroused at the fate of their countrymen, the English poured in upon the enemy from all quarters; so that they were obliged to retreat to their ships without their booty.

The Danes make a descent at Portland.

An.Ch.787.

Mean while Brithric attoned for his cruelty to Egbert, by the wisdom and equity of his government, and was universally beloved by his subjects, when he fell a sacrifice to the intrigues of his queen

Brithric poisoned by his queen.

An.Ch.787. Edburga, who deprived him of his life by means of poiſon; and then fled to the continent, where ſhe ended her days in beggary and exile.

Her crime was ſo enormous and deteſtable in the eyes of the Weſt Saxons, that they immediately enacted a law, forbidding the wives of all ſucceeding kings to aſſume the title of queen, on pain of the huſband's being deprived of his royalty, and the ſubject abſolved from his oath of allegiance. This ſtep was no ſooner taken than they ſent an honourable embaſſy, with an offer of the crown to Egbert, who had accompanied Charlemagne in his expedition to Rome, where he now received the ambaſſadors, and reſolved to comply with their invitation.

Malmeſb. l. ii.

An.Ch.800.

Of the kingdom of NORTHUMBERLAND.

Its extent and diviſion.

The kingdom of Northumberland was divided on the ſouth from Mercia, by the river Humber; the Iriſh ſea bounded it on the weſt; it was waſhed on the eaſt by the German ocean; and extended to the north a conſiderable way into Lothian. It comprehended the provinces now called Lancaſhire, Cumberland, Weſtmorland, Northumberland, and Yorkſhire, and the biſhopric of Durham; and its chief towns were York, Durham or Dunelm, Carliſle, called by the Romans Luguballia, Hexam or Hagulſtadt, and Lancaſter. This extent of country, amounting to one hundred and ſixty miles in length, and about one hundred at its broadeſt part, was formerly divided into two provinces, called Deira and Bernicia, and theſe were at one time two independent kingdoms, the firſt conſiſting of the ſouthern parts, and the other beginning at the north ſide of the wall built by Severus. But this diviſion did not take place till the death of Ida, who founded the monarchy, and bequeathed Bernicia

nicia to his ſon Adda, while his other ſon Alla ſucceeded to the kingdom of Deira. An. Ch. 559.

We know nothing of the firſt four kings that ſucceeded Adda, except their names, which were Clappa, Theodulph, Freothulf, Theodric, and Edelric, who mounted the throne in his old age, and aſſociated his ſon Ethelfrid as his coadjutor in the government. This prince having married Acca daughter of Alla king of Deira, ſeized upon that kingdom at the death of his father-in-law, though he had left an infant ſon called Edwin. The firſt four kings. An. Ch. 586.

Ethelfrid, after his father's deceaſe, became very powerful and terrible to his enemies the Scots, who made frequent incurſions into his territories, not only for the ſake of plunder, but alſo in compliance with the ſolicitations of the Britons, with whom the Scottiſh king Aidan had engaged in an offenſive and defenſive alliance. It was probably at their inſtigation that this monarch, even in his old age, invaded the territories of Ethelfrid, who engaging him at Degraſten, when his men were loaded with plunder, an obſtinate battle enſued, in which, though Aidan was defeated, the Northumbrian king's brother Theobald, and a great number of Saxons, were ſlain. Whether Ethelfrid reſented the behaviour of the Britons, who had perſuaded Aidan to invade his dominions, or inſtigated by the remonſtrances of Auguſtin, whoſe juriſdiction had been rejected by the Britiſh biſhops, he advanced at the head of his victorious troops to beſiege Cheſter, which was occupied by the Britons, who reſolved to ſtand battle; and in the mean time brought out about twelve hundred monks from the immenſe monaſtery of Bangor, to pray in the open plain for their ſucceſs, during the engagement. Notwithſtanding this ſpiritual aſſiſtance, Ethelfrid obtained a complete victory, the miſerable eccleſiaſtics were maſſacred, and the town being taken, Ethelfrid defeats Aidan, king of Scotland, obtains a victory over the Britons, and orders twelve hundred monks to be maſſacred. Buchan. l. v. An. Ch. 613.

An.Ch.613. Bede, l. ii. the victor ordered their monaſtery to be razed to the ground.

He threatens Redwald king of Eaſt Anglia for protecting his brother-in-law Edwin. While Ethelfrid thus aggrandized himſelf at the expence of his enemies, Edwin his brother-in-law wandered from place to place, in queſt of aſſiſtance that might enable him to retrieve his inheritance; and though he could find no prince that would run the riſque of incuring the reſentment of the uſurper in his behalf, he was hoſpitably received by Redwald king of Eaſt Anglia, who ſympathized with his diſtreſs, and conceived an affection for his character. But, he had not long enjoyed the happineſs of this retreat, when Ethelfrid ſent an embaſſy with the offer of an alternative to Redwald, importing that he ſhould either deliver up the refugee, in conſideration of a certain ſum of money to be paid for his head, or bear the brunt of a bloody war, in quality of Edwin's protector.

He is defeated and ſlain near the river Idel in Nottinghamſhire Redwald, allured by the bribe, and intimidated by the menaces of ſuch a formidable monarch, for ſome time wavered between his glory and convenience; but was at length determined by the ſuggeſtions of his conſcience, reinforced with the mediation of his queen, in favour of the young prince, to whom he had granted an aſylum *. In theſe ſentiments he aſſembled his forces without delay, in hopes of falling upon Ethelfrid before he ſhould be prepared for his reception; and dividing his army into three ſeparate bodies, gave the command of the firſt to his ſon Reyner, with order to advance and take poſſeſſion of a certain paſs, while he himſelf followed at a ſmall diſtance, and the laſt diviſion was brought up by Edwin. But Reyner

* The ſtory of the apparition, by which Edwin is ſaid to have been accoſted in the garden, is either a ridiculous legend, adopted by the credulity of Bede and other writers, who recount it; or the perſon who appeared, knowing that Redwald had already taken a reſolution in his favour, was ſome chriſtian, who choſe this method of ſecuring an influence with the young prince, who ſolemnly promiſed to be directed by his counſel-

giving

giving way to the impetuosity of his courage, left his father too far behind to be properly sustained; and Ethelfrid, who had already taken the field, encountering him near the river Idel, in Nottinghamshire, he lost his life, and his troops were routed with great slaughter. Redwald enraged, but not dispirited by the loss of his son, advanced with the remaining part of his army, and attacked the Northumbrians, fatigued with action and disordered in the pursuit; and here the battle was renewed with equal ferocity on both sides, till the troops of Ethelfrid being overpowered by the number of the East-Anglians, headed by Redwald raging like a lioness robbed of her young, and animated by the example of the gallant Edwin, could no longer withstand the shock, but fled with great precipitation. Ethelfrid seeing his men give way, notwithstanding all his efforts to rally their broken battalions, and scorning to outlive the disgrace of an overthrow, rushed furiously into the midst of the enemy, where he fell covered with wounds, after having performed miracles of personal valour. An.Ch.613.

The victorious Redwald marched directly into Northumberland, where he met with no opposition; for Ethelfrid's three sons Anfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, had fled for refuge into Scotland: he, therefore received the submission of the Northumbrians, without exception. Far from using the rights of a conqueror to their prejudice, he generously established Edwin in the possession of both kingdoms, though his claim had been limited to Deira alone, and contented himself with the glory of such a generous expedition. An.Ch.617. Hen. Hunt. Edwin takes possession of the Northumbrian throne.

Edwin being thus unexpectedly raised, from the condition of an hopeless fugitive to the possession of two powerful kingdoms, employed the first years of his reign in civilizing his subjects, who were

An.Ch.617. were ſavaged by the continual wars and ravages which had ſo long prevailed between them and their neighbours of North Britain. He not only enacted wiſe laws and regulations for puniſhing rapine, and reſtraining the ferocity of the common people, but ordered theſe inſtitutions to be executed with ſuch punctuality, that in a little time, peace and order reigned throughout the whole kingdom *.

Bede, l. ii.

He is elected head of the Saxon confederacy, marries Ethelburga, and becomes a convert to Chriſtianity.

After the death of Redwald, who had been raiſed to the ſupreme power over all the kings of the Heptarchy, Edwin, who always reſpected him as a benefactor, openly declared his deſign of poſſeſſing that dignity; and no prince diſputed his pretenſions but Quinchelm king of Weſſex, who by this oppoſition brought upon himſelf a war which endangered his dominions, and compelled him at laſt to ſue for peace. This contention being terminated by the treaty, he was veſted with the ſovereign command; and the Britons, whom he threatened to invade, conſented to pay a tribute, rather than incur the effects of his indignation.

Thus aggrandized by a chain of ſucceſsful events, part of which he owed to fortune, and part to his own ſuperior talents, he began to extend the authority with which he had been lately inveſted, and pretended to exert an abſolute dominion over all the other kings of the Heptarchy. He had formerly been married to a ſiſter of the Mercian king; but ſhe dying, he now reſolved to eſpouſe Ethelburga, ſiſter to Eadbald king of Kent, a princeſs of great merit, who would have doubtleſs rejected any match, howſoever advantageous, with a pagan, had not ſhe been animated with the zeal of converting

* We are told by Bede, that he ordered wells to be made and ſupplied with braſs cups or ladles, in the moſt dry and deſart parts of his kingdom, for the accommodation of thirſty travellers; and that a woman with an infant in her arms might have walked over the whole kingdom without fear of violence.

him

him and his ſubjects to the chriſtian religion. Before ſhe would give her conſent, however, it was ſolemnly ſtipulated that ſhe ſhould have the free exerciſe of her own worſhip, and be attended by biſhop Paulinus, who propagated the goſpel among the Northumbrian infidels, and was inſtrumental in the converſion of Edwin himſelf. After he had defeated Quinchelm, and ravaged the country of Weſſex with great ſeverity, he returned to his own kingdom, and began to diſcover ſigns of uneaſineſs touching the religion he profeſſed: the queen, aſſiſted by Paulinus, had not failed to prepoſſeſs his mind in favour of Chriſtianity; but he ſtill retained ſcruples which they had not been able to remove, and this uncertainty produced diſquiet and perturbation. While he thus heſitated between the true faith and idolatry, his determination was influenced by the conduct of his prime miniſter Coiſi, who was at the ſame time chief prieſt of his ancient religion. This pontiff, being a man of moderation and good underſtanding, joined the queen and Paulinus, declared in favour of Chriſtianity, and with his own hands demoliſhed the idols which he had formerly adored. Such a remarkable inſtance of conviction had a wonderful effect upon the king, who was ſoon after baptized, with all his court, at York, of which he created Paulinus biſhop. An.Ch.617.

His new religion did not ſeem to teach him humility: for, he grew every day more and more abſolute and imperious, and on ſolemn occaſions ordered a globe to be carried before him, to denote the union of the Heptarchy under his ſovereign command. His ambition and inſolence of power excited the jealouſy and reſentment of all the Anglo-Saxon princes; and in particular inflamed the indignation of Penda the Mercian king, who was naturally fierce and impatient, and longed paſſionately for an occaſion to ſhake off the dominion of the

He is vanquiſhed and ſlain at Hatfield in Yorkſhire by Ceadwalla king of the Britons, and Penda king of Mercia.

An. Ch. 617. the Northumbrian monarch. Nor did he long wait for an opportunity: Ceadwalla king of the Britons, whom he had diſtreſſed and ſaddled with a tribute, conferred with Penda upon their mutual diſgrace in ſubmitting to the ſway of a prince who was in no reſpect their ſuperior; and finding their ſentiments agree upon the ſubject, reſolved to diſpute his preheminence. With this view they immediately joined their forces, and advanced as far as Hatfield, in the Weſt-riding of Yorkſhire, where they found Edwin ready to give them battle. The engagement began with deſperate fury on both ſides; and though the confederates had greatly the advantage in number, they in all probability would have yielded at laſt to the capacity of Edwin and the diſcipline of his troops, had not an accident deprived him of that cool deliberation and preſence of mind which he had hitherto preſerved. His ſon Offrid fell at his feet transfixed with an arrow; and this ſpectacle filled his breaſt with tumults of rage and diſtraction. Without regarding the poſture of his men, or the diſpoſition of the battle, he ruſhed ſingly into the thickeſt body of the enemy; and his retreat being cut off, was immediately diſpatched by a multitude of weapons. When their king diſappeared, the Northumbrians were ſeized with conſternation, and abandoned the field of battle, leaving a complete victory to the allies, which they proſecuted with the utmoſt inhumanity.

Bede, l. ii.

Barbarity of the victors.

Northumberland being in no condition to reſiſt their arms, they ravaged the whole country with fire and ſword; and the Britiſh prince, who profeſſed Chriſtianity, acted like a ſavage beaſt of prey thirſting after human blood. Effrid the ſon of Edwin dreading the ſanguinary diſpoſition of this brutal monſter, ſurrendered himſelf to the king of Mercia, who received him at firſt with ſome degree of humanity, and afterwards ordered him to be

be butchered in his preſence: as for queen Ethelburga, ſhe fled with Paulinus to her brother the Kentiſh king, who beſtowed on her ſome lands, where ſhe founded a monaſtery in which ſhe ended her days; and the good prelate was created biſhop of Rocheſter. An.Ch.617. Thorn. hiſt. abbot. Canterb. Camden in Cant.

The Northumbrians, driven to deſpair by the barbarity of their conquerors, reſolved to periſh ſword in hand, rather than fall tamely the victims of ſuch inhuman tyrants; and, in order to make a laſt effort to retrive their liberty, the people of Deira choſe Oſrick, a relation of Edwin, for their king; while the Bernicians placed upon their throne Anfrid the ſon of Ethelfrid, who, after his father's death, had fled with his brothers Oſwald and Oſwy into Scotland, where all three had embraced the chriſtian religion. Oſrick and Anfrid are routed and ſlain.

Theſe two kings were no ſooner eſtabliſhed on their thrones, than they returned to their pagan worſhip; though they did not long ſurvive their apoſtacy. Oſrick having raſhly preſumed to beſiege Ceadwalla in York, the Britiſh prince made a furious ſally, routed the beſiegers with great ſlaughter, and left their new king lying dead upon the ſpot; then he marched againſt the ſovereign of Bernicia, whom he attacked by ſurprize, and made a terrible carnage, in the midſt of which Anfrid loſt his life. An Ch.633. Malmeſb. l. i.

Theſe victories were attended with horrible cruelties and all ſpecies of oppreſſion, exerciſed againſt the Northumbrians by Ceadwalla, who now treated them like the worſt of traitors, becauſe they had attempted to recover their independency. Their groans reached the ears of Oſwald, ſtill an exile in Scotland, who formed the generous reſolution of relieving the diſtreſs of his countrymen, though at the extreme hazard of his life: for that purpoſe he collected an handful of men, and marched againſt An.Ch.634. Oſwald obtains a complete victory over Ceadwalla, who loſes his life in the battle.

An.Ch.634. the tyrant, who looking upon him with infinite contempt, went forth to meet him in full assurance of victory. Oswald, being informed of his approach, intrenched himself in an advantageous post at Halidown, and erecting a cross in the front of his camp, commanded the whole army to fall upon their knees, and implore the assistance of heaven. Animated by this act of devotion, they waited with fortitude for the assault; and Ceadwalla advancing at the head of his troops, in order to force their entrenchments, received an arrow in his heart, which instantly put an end to his life. This accident overwhelmed his forces with consternation: confusion ensued; then the Northumbrians taking advantage of their disorder, sallied from their camp, and fell upon them with such vigour, that they were entirely routed. A defeat in which Oswald thought the hand of the Lord was so manifest on his side, that he called the place on which the battle was fought Heoffenfelt, or Heaven's-field.

Bede, l. iii.

The great character of Oswald, who is defeated and killed by Penda king of Mercia.

By this great victory, Oswald was put in possession of the two Northumbrian kingdoms, to both which he was heir by his father Ethelfrid, and his mother Acca, who was Edwin's sister. He began his reign with the establishment of excellent regulations; so that the people soon forgot the calamities they had undergone. Being a prince of natural capacity, cultivated with proper education, he took effectual measures for softening and polishing the manners of his rude Northumbrians; and lost no opportunity of propagating Christianity, and promoting the interests of the church. His learning was extensive, and his charity unlimited; insomuch that it was his constant practice to send food to the poor from his own table; and he frequently ordered the silver dishes that contained it to be broken and divided among the necessitous. Such virtue could not fail to win the affections of his

his people: the clergy revered him as a ſaint, and the other Saxon princes raiſed him to the ſupreme command of their confederacy. The tranquillity and happineſs of his reign was interrupted by the unquiet ſpirit of Penda the Mercian king, who, impatient of Oſwald's character and ſuperior ſtation, reſolved to deſtroy that prince, as the great obſtacle to his ambitious deſigns. He therefore ſuddenly aſſembled his forces, and began his march for Northumberland, where he hoped to find his rival unprepared. This was really the caſe with Oſwald, who nevertheleſs advanced againſt him with the ſmall number of troops that were at hand, and loſt his life in the battle that enſued, at a place which thence took the name of Oſweſtre. An.Ch.634. An.Ch.642.

The victor uſed his good fortune with all that inſolence and barbarity which was peculiar to his character: he ordered the body of Oſwald to be cut in pieces, and expoſed upon poles in the middle of the field: then he laid waſte the whole country of Northumberland; and undertook the ſiege of Bambury, which was built by Ida. But meeting with more reſiſtance than he expected, he deſiſted from the enterprize, and directed his march towards Eaſt Anglia, which he hoped to ſubdue by the terror of his arms. An.Ch.643.

His retreat afforded breathing time to the Northumbrians, who ſaw no ſafety but under the ſhadow of regal authority; and therefore the Bernicians filled their throne with Oſwy the brother of Oſwald, while the Deirians preſented their crown to Oſwin the ſon of Oſrick, who had been defeated and ſlain by Ceadwalla. Oſwy and Oſwin are elected kings of Northumberland.

A very good underſtanding ſubſiſted between theſe two princes, while they dreaded a freſh invaſion from Penda; but, as ſoon as he was engaged in other wars, Oſwy reſolved to make himſelf maſter of his brother's whole ſucceſſion. Oſwin. The latter is put to death by the former.

An.Ch.643. win, who was a prince of mean parts and great devotion, endeavoured by pacific propoſals to divert Oſwy from his purpoſe: and theſe proving ineffectual, he was obliged at laſt to have recourſe to arms; but before the armies came in ſight of each other, he was ſo ſhocked at the proſpect of ſhedding chriſtian blood, that he reſolved to retire into a convent, and in the mean withdrawing privately from his troops, he repaired to the houſe of a count, whom he believed a faithful adherent; and that traitor betrayed him to Oſwy, who cruelly de-
Bede, l. iii. prived him of his life. Yet this barbarous homicide did not anſwer his expectation; for the Deirians deteſting the action, and dreading the government of ſuch a bloody tyrant, immediately choſe a ſucceſſor to Oſwin in the perſon of Athelwalt, ſon of the illuſtrious Oſwald, a prince better calculated than his predeceſſor, for wielding the ſcepter of Northumberland.

Athelwalt engages in a league with the kings of Eaſt Anglia and Mercia.

As he knew the diſpoſition and claim of his uncle Oſwy, he reſolved to ſupport his own pretenſions by means of alliances, and gladly liſtened to the propoſals of the Eaſt Anglian king, and Penda, who, though turned of ſeventy-eight, retained his enmity to the Northumbrians, and projected a league againſt Oſwy, in which Athelwalt readily engaged. The king of Bernicia, alarmed at this alliance, omitted no ſtep which he thought could avert the ſtorm, and even offered a ſum of money to Penda, provided he would deſiſt from his enterprize. But finding the confederates deaf to all his propoſals, he began to make preparations for his own defence; and obliged himſelf by a vow to found twelve monaſteries, and make one of his daughters a nun, in caſe God ſhould maintain his cauſe againſt ſuch
Malmb. l. i. powerful enemies.

The battle of Aar.

The oppoſite armies met on the banks of the Aar in Yorkſhire; but by that time Athelwalt reflecting

flecting that he ſhould, in all probability, become a prey to the conqueror, whether victory ſhould declare for Penda or for Oſwy, he reſolved to ſtand neuter during the engagement, that he might be in a condition to defend himſelf from the deſigns of the victor. Penda and the Eaſt Anglian king, without ſuſpecting his intention, attacked the Bernicians with great fury: but their forces perceiving Athelwalt wheeling off with his Northumbrians, concluded themſelves betrayed, and giving ground immediately, their two chiefs were ſlain in endeavouring to rally and bring them back to the charge. Immediately after this battle, which was fought at a place called Winfield, Oſwy penetrated into Mercia, which he ſubdued without oppoſition, the ſons of Penda being obliged to fly for refuge into another kingdom: this conqueſt he enjoyed about three years, during which he was elected chief of the Saxon confederacy, a ſtation which had remained unfilled ſince the death of his brother Oſwald; but, at length his officers exerciſed ſuch ſeverities in Mercia, that the natives took to their arms, and driving the Northumbrians out of the kingdom, placed Wolpher, the ſon of Penda, upon the throne. An.Ch.643.

Oſwy, however, ſoon conſoled himſelf for this loſs, with the acquiſition of Deira, in which he ſucceeded Athelwalt, who died without iſſue. But this re-union of the kingdoms was not of long duration; for, Oſwy beſtowed Deira upon his natural ſon Alfrid, and died in peace, after a reign of eight and twenty years, the beginning of which had been full of trouble, and ſtained by the criminal effects of his ambition; but he afterwards compounded with heaven, by the religious performance of his vows, and erecting a monaſtery on the ſpot where Oſwin was murdered; and the venerable An.Ch.670. Oſwy becomes religious and munificent to the church.

An.Ch.670. Bede, l. iv. Bede ranks him among the beſt and moſt illuſtrious princes of the Saxon Heptarchy.

He was ſucceeded in the double dignity of Saxon monarch and king of Northumberland, by his ſon Egfrid, under whom Deira and Bernicia were again united; for the death of Oſwy was no ſooner known to the Deirians, than they revolted againſt Alfrid, who retired into Ireland, and devoted his time to ſtudy, until he ſhould find a favourable opportunity to retrieve his fortune.

Egfrid expels biſhop Wilfred from his ſee, is defeated by the Scots, and afterwards loſes his army, and his life, in a battle with the Picts.

Egfrid was a prince of great activity and ambition. Being invaded by Wolpher, king of Mercia, he compelled him to retire to his own dominions with conſiderable loſs. By the perſuaſion of his wife Ermenburga, he expelled biſhop Wilfred from his ſee, on account of the faſtidious pride and dangerous influence of that prelate. The ſentence was executed by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and three other biſhops; and Wilfred appealed to the pope, who decreed in full ſynod that he ſhould be reſtored to his ſee; but Egfrid ſet the pope and his decree at defiance. This enterpriſing prince reſolving to make a conqueſt of Ireland, ſent an army into that iſland, under the command of one Bertfrid, who ravaged the country, plundered and deſtroyed churches and monaſteries, and maſſacred the inhabitants without mercy or diſtinction. This conduct exaſperated the Iriſh to ſuch a degree, that though at firſt they were diſpoſed to ſubmit, they had now recourſe to their arms, which they uſed ſo effectually, that the invader was fain to reimbark his army, after having ſuſtained conſiderable damage. Egfrid, diſappointed in this quarter, turned his arms towards Scotland, in direct violation of the treaty he had concluded with the Scottiſh king Eugenius, and in conjunction with the Picts, waſted that country as far as Galloway with fire and ſword. But Eugenius was prepared for his reception, and found means

means to detach the Picts from his interest, then attacked him with such impetuosity, that his army was cut in pieces, and himself so wounded that he could scarce escape to his own dominions. Next year, in order to be revenged upon the Picts for their treachery, he advanced into their country, and the enemy fled before him, until he was drawn into an ambuscade, among marshes, woods, and mountains; then they fell upon him with great fury, and he lost his army and his life together. An.Ch.670. Buchan. l. v.

By this defeat the kingdom of Northumberland was left naked and exposed to the victorious Picts, the Scots, and the Britons, who invaded it on all sides, and re-united to their dominions the several territories of which they had been dismembered by the Saxon monarchs. An.Ch.686. An.Ch.705.

As Egfrid died without issue, the Northumbrians recalled Alfrid from Ireland, but, before he could ascend the throne, the enemy had secured themselves in their conquests, and all he could do was to defend the remaining part of his dominions from their incessant incursions. In the midst of these alarms he reigned twenty years, and left his son Osred almost in his infancy, under the guardianship of a nobleman called Brithric. Alfrid seems to have been a prince of excellent talents, and a spirit unbroke by adversity, and unterrified by danger: he cultivated a friendship with Eugenius, king of Scotland, who, like himself, was well versed in the learning of the times; and asserted his independency of the see of Rome, in hindering Wilfred to take possession of his bishopric, notwithstanding the decree he had obtained. Alfrid reigns with spirit and reputation. Ann. Sax.

The minority of Osred flattered the ambitious views of a nobleman called Eadwulf, who usurped the throne, and for some time managed the reins of government. Osred and his tutor retired to the fortress of Banbury, in which they were besieged Osred is vanquished and slain by Kenred and Osric.

An.Ch.705. by the uſurper, who in all probability might have enjoyed his acquiſition in peace, had he conſented to the reſtoration of Wilfred, whoſe party was by this time greatly augmented. But, far from complying with the papal decree, he ſwore by his ſalvation, that if the prelate would not quit the kingdom in ſix days, his whole company ſhould be put to death. This declaration was the cauſe of his own ruin; for, Wilfred throwing all his intereſt in the oppoſite ſcale, Oſred's party became ſo powerful, that the uſurper was obliged to raiſe the ſiege with precipitation: then Brithric quitting Banbury, put himſelf at the head of the prince's adherents, and Eadwulf being abandoned and taken, was beheaded as a traitor.

Flor. Wigborn.

Oſred, as he advanced in years, became more and more addicted to ſenſuality: he is ſaid to have deflowered and even raviſhed ſeveral nuns, and to have plunged himſelf into all manner of debauchery: but, the moſt enormous vice in his compoſition, was his contempt of the clergy, which proved the means of his deſtruction: for they united all their intereſt and power in ſetting up Kenred and Oſric, deſcended from a baſtard of Ida, as competitors for his crown, and enabling them to give battle to the king, who was vanquiſhed and ſlain in the nineteenth year of his age.

Malmesb. l. i. Huntingd. l. ii.

An.Ch.716. He was ſucceeded in his throne by the victorious Kenred, who enjoyed it two years; and when he died, it devolved to Oſric, whoſe reign of eleven years is diſtinguiſhed by no remarkable tranſactions. He bequeathed his crown to his relation Cealwulph, brother to his predeceſſor Kenred; and this prince, after having reigned ſeven or eight years, turned monk, and ended his days in the monaſtery of Lindisfarne. His crown he reſigned to his nephew Egbert, who was ſcarce ſettled on the throne, when the northern parts of his domi-

Cealwulph renounces his crown, and turns monk.

nions

nions were invaded by the Picts, while the Mercians made incursions over the southern frontiers, from which they returned loaded with plunder. In all probability he was afterwards exposed to civil disturbances, raised by some prince of the blood, whose pretensions were supported by Kinewulph, bishop of Lindisfarne, whom the king besieged in his church, and conveyed prisoner to Banbury. An. Ch. 740. Sim. Dunelm.

Egbert, towards the latter end of his reign, concluded a treaty with Onnust king of the Picts; and these two princes joining their forces, invaded the kingdom of Areclute, possessed by the Britons, where they made themselves masters of the capital Dunbritton, which surrendered upon capitulation. This country, formerly the Cumbrian kingdom, had been conquered by the Saxon kings of Northumberland, and united to their dominions, from which it was again dismembered by the Britons in the reign of Alfrid; now again it reverted to Egbert, after he had defeated Deobama the British prince or general, who marched to the relief of Dunbritton. Egbert defeats the Britons, and takes the city of Dunbritton.

Egbert certainly possessed great talents as a prince, and acquired such reputation by his success in war, that Pepin, king of France, courted his friendship, and even bribed him to a treaty of alliance with many valuable presents: but, there was one weak part in his mind, which derogated from the dignity of his character. This was a silly enthusiasm, which prompted him to abdicate his crown and retire into a monastery; notwithstanding the dissuasive arguments against such a pitiful ambition, used by his neighbour princes, who even offered him part of their dominions, provided he would continue to manage the reins of government. He persisted in his resolution, and actually renounced the world, leaving his crown to his son He abdicates the crown, and retires to a monastery. Sim. Dunelm. Bede.

An.Ch.757. Oſulph, who was aſſaſſinated by his own family in the very firſt year of his reign.

Mollo is murdered by Alcred, and his ſon Ethelred compelled to abandon his dominions.

The regal power now devolved to Mollo-Ethelwald, although he was not of the blood royal, and his election was productive of calamities, which ended in the ruin of the kingdom; for, no ſooner did the Northumbrians diſregard the royal family in the choice of their king, than every powerful nobleman thought himſelf as well intitled to the throne as another, and began to cabal for the ſovereign power: this ambitious contention gave riſe to dangerous factions, which at firſt convulſed and afterwards deſtroyed the liberty of the nation. Among theſe aſpiring pretenders was Oſwin, who excited a rebellion in ſupport of his pretenſions; but his adherents were routed, and he himſelf loſt his life in the engagement which happened at Eldune near Melroſs: but in three years after this battle Mollo fell by the treachery of Alcred, who took poſſeſſion of his throne. Yet this traitor did not long enjoy the fruits of his uſurpation; for, the party of the deceaſed king prevailing over his intereſt, he fled for refuge to the Britiſh court; and Ethelred ſon of Mollo was ſet upon his father's throne. This prince, in order to ſecure his authority, by the deſtruction of that faction which had ſupported his predeceſſor, made uſe of very ſlender pretences for putting to death three principal noblemen, who had oppoſed his election: and this violence, far from anſwering his expectation, ſerved only to forward the machinations of his enemies, by furniſhing them with a plauſible pretext for revolting. They forthwith took the field, and obtained two ſucceſſive victories over the forces of the king, who was obliged to quit his throne and take ſhelter in one of the neighbouring kingdoms; while the victorious faction beſtowed his crown upon

Sim. Dunelm. Hovend. An.Ch.765.

Alfwold,

Alfwold, ſon of Oſulph, and grandſon of Egbert. The new king did not enjoy his fortune without diſturbance; for, in the ſecond year of his reign, an inſurrection was raiſed by Oſbald and Ethelheard, two noblemen, who routed Bearne his general, and purſued him to a place called Saletune, where he was burnt to death. Nevertheleſs, he found means to quell this rebellion, and governed the kingdom eleven years with great equity and moderation, which however could not ſecure him againſt the treacherous attempts of the oppoſite party, by whom he was baſely aſſaſſinated, and his place ſupplied by Oſred ſon of Alcred. An.Ch.765. An.Ch.778. Sim. Dunelm. An.Ch.789.

This weak prince brought himſelf into ſuch contempt with his ſubjects, that, in the very firſt year of his reign, they confined him to a monaſtery; and recalled Ethelred, after he had wandered about twelve years in exile. Is recalled, and reigns with cruelty and deſpotic power.

He no ſooner reaſcended the throne, than he began again to exhibit proofs of his cruel and vindictive diſpoſition. He ſeduced with fair promiſes Oelf and Oelfin, ſons of Alfwold, from the principal church of York, in which they had taken ſanctuary, and then ordered them to be aſſaſſinated at Worewaldremere, a village in Lancaſhire. The next object of his barbarous revenge was the unhappy Oſred, who had eſcaped from the monaſtery to the iſle of Man, from whence he was now decoyed by the profeſſions of two treacherous noblemen employed for that purpoſe, and put to death by the command of the inhuman Ethelred, who, in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt, married Elffled daughter of Offa the Mercian king. This was a prince of his own character, who had invited Ethelbert king of the Eaſt Angles to his court, where, at the inſtigation of his wife, he cauſed him to be put to death, and immediately ſeized upon his kingdom. Mat. Weſt.

An.Ch.789. The Danes make a descent in Northumberland.

During the reign of Ethelred, the Danes made a descent upon Northumberland, where they burned the monastery of Lindisfarne. Allured by the rich booty which they obtained at that place, they returned in the course of the following year, and landed at the mouth of the Tyne, plundered the monastery of Tinmouth, founded by king Egfrid; but, Ethelred, with the assistance of his father-in-law Offa, repulsed them to their vessels; and they were afterwards overtaken by a terrible tempest, in which they perished on the English coast.

Ethelred still giving way to his jealousy and revenge, continued to devise means for compassing the death or exile of his most formidable subjects; and at length ventured to banish Ardulph, one of the first noblemen of the kingdom; an act of violence that produced an open rebellion and civil war which raged two years, with various success, until the revolters, tired of such a tedious process, had recourse to the expedient of assassination, which freed them from the tyranny of Ethelred, but could not prevent the crown's falling into the hands of Osbald, who had been a stanch adherent of the deceased king. Charlemagne was so much incensed at the murder of Ethelred, for whom he professed a friendship, that he had well nigh declared war against the Northumbrians, who nevertheless found means to deprecate his wrath.

Ethelred is assassinated.

Sim. Dunelm. Hovend. Alcuen. Epist. Malmesb.

An.Ch.796.

Ardulph is expelled by his own subjects.

Osbald did not long enjoy his new dignity; for, in less than a month after his elevation, he was expelled by the opposite party, and the sovereign power vested in Ardulph; though the kingdom was so distracted by two factions, that he could not expect to reign longer than his party should continue to preponderate. The opposition was headed by Alcmund son of Alcred, who had once occupied the throne; and this young prince became so formidable by his popularity, that Ardulph thought

it

it neceſſary to ſacrifice him to his own ſafety. His death occaſioned an open inſurrection, countenanced and conducted by a nobleman called Aldrick, who being vanquiſhed and ſlain, the kingdom enjoyed a little reſpite. But, the malcontents increaſed daily to ſuch a degree both in number and power, that Ardulph thought himſelf happy in accompliſhing his eſcape from his own dominions, and took refuge in the court of Charlemagne, where the Engliſh always met with a favourable reception. After his retreat, the throne was ſeized by Erſwold, who conducted the oppoſite faction; and he was ſucceeded by Eandred, in whoſe reign Northumberland ſubmitted to Egbert king of Weſſex, who put an end to the Saxon Heptarchy. An.Ch.796. An.Ch.810.

Of the kingdom of EAST ANGLIA.

This kingdom, founded by the Angles that landed on the eaſtern coaſt of England in ſeparate and independent bodies, was bounded on the north by the Humber and German ocean, which likewiſe environed it on the eaſt; it lay contiguous to the kingdom of Eſſex on the ſouth, and to Mercia on the weſt. It extended eighty miles in length, five and fifty in breadth, contained the provinces of Norfolk and Suffolk, with part of Cambridgeſhire; and its chief towns were Norwich, Thetford, Ely, and Cambridge. Founded by Uffa.

Uffa, the ſurvivor of all the twelve chiefs, under whom the Eaſt Angles arrived in England, aſſumed the title of king, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Titel, whoſe reign was as obſcure as that of his father: but his ſon and ſucceſſor Redwald became the moſt illuſtrious monarch of the whole Heptarchy, of which he was choſen the head. As we have already recorded his actions in the hiſtory Redwald's great character.

of

An.Ch.624. of Northumberland, we shall only observe that his son Erpwald, to whom his crown devolved, was a prince of so contemptible a character, and degenerated so much from the virtues of his father, that he was despised by his own subjects, and suffered himself to be directed in every thing by Edwin king of Northumberland, who, in all probability, would have deprived him of his kingdom, had not he been restrained by the ties of gratitude which he owed his father Redwald. Erpwald in the latter end of his reign embraced the doctrines of the christian religion: and his conversion seems to have given offence to great part of his subjects; for, he was soon after assassinated by one Richbert, a pagan, who though, he did not assume the title of king, exercised the chief authority for three years, and then the East Angles raised to the throne Sigibert, uterine brother of their late monarch, who had retired into France in consequence of Redwald's jealousy, and there been converted to the christian religion.

Erpwald is assassinated. Bede, l. ii.

An.Ch.633.

When he had fixed himself securely in possession of the throne, he employed his chief care in propagating the gospel among his people, and having met with extraordinary success in that pious work, by means of a Burgundian priest called Felix, he retired into a monastery, leaving his crown to his kinsman Egric, who had not long enjoyed the crown, when his dominions were attacked by Penda the Mercian king; and his subjects having very little confidence in his capacity, intreated Sigibert to quit his retirement and take the command of their forces. He yielded at length to their importunities; and refusing to wield any other weapon than a small wand, accompanied Egric into the field, where the East Angles were defeated, and both princes lost their lives.

Sigibert retires to a convent, and is afterwards slain in a battle with Penda.

Malmesb. l. i. Bede, l. iii.

The

The crown devolved to Annas, nephew of Redwald, who became one of the moſt celebrated kings of Eaſt Anglia, and re-eſtabliſhed Ceanwalch in the kingdom of Weſſex, of which he had been deprived by Penda, who was ſo exaſperated on this occaſion, that he reſolved to ravage Eaſt Anglia with fire and ſword. Annas mean while began to take the neceſſary meaſures for his own defence; but died in the midſt of his preparations; and was ſucceeded by his brother Ethelric, who found himſelf in no condition to ſupport a war againſt ſuch a formidable enemy. He therefore bought a peace from Penda with a conſiderable ſum of money; and even joined him in his invaſion of Northumberland, where they were vanquiſhed and ſlain by Oſwy, as we have already related. The throne was ſupplied by his brother Ethelwald, the particulars of whoſe reign are unknown; and his ſucceſſor was Ardulph, the ſon of Ethelbert, of whoſe reign we know nothing more than that he aſſiſted at the council of Hatfield.

An.Ch.654.

Ethelric purchaſes a peace. Ann. Sax.

The next Eaſt Anglian king was Alphwald; and at his death the kingdom was divided between Beorna and Ethelbert, who reigned together in peace and obſcurity. Beorna ſurvived his colleague, and was ſucceeded by Ethelred, who left his crown to his ſon Ethelbert, a virtuous prince, who, as we have already obſerved, fell a ſacrifice to the treachery of Offa the Mercian king; and from this period Eaſt Anglia and Mercia were united.

Floreleg. M. Weſtm.

An.Ch.792.

Eaſt Anglia is united to Mercia.

Of the kingdom of MERCIA.

The kingdom of Mercia was ſeparated from Northumberland by the river Humber, and extended weſterly to the Severn; it was parted by the Thames on the ſouth from the kingdoms of Kent, Suſſex, and Weſſex; and bounded on the eaſt by Eſſex

Founded by Crida.

An. Ch. 584. Eſſex and Eaſt Anglia. The extent of it amounted to about one hundred and ſixty miles, and its greateſt breadth to an hundred. The principal towns were Lincoln, Nottingham, Warwick, Leiceſter, Coventry, Litchfield, Northampton, Worceſter, Glouceſter, Derby, Cheſter, Shrewſbury, Stafford, Oxford, and Briſtol; in a word, it was the faireſt and moſt conſiderable of all the kingdoms that compoſed the Saxon Heptarchy, and owed its origin to Crida, who died in the firſt or ſecond year of his reign.

At his death it was ſeized by Ethelbert king of Kent, and chief of the Saxon confederacy, who afterwards reſtored it to Wibba ſon of Crida, as we
An. Ch. 625. have ſeen in the hiſtory of Kent.

The turbulence of Penda. This prince, after a reign of nineteen years, left the kingdom to his ſon Penda, whom Ethelbert prevented from ſucceeding immediately, by giving the crown to Cearlus or Cheorl, couſin-german to the late king, whoſe reign of nine years is marked by no tranſaction of conſequence. As he died without iſſue, the crown devolved upon Penda, already in the fiftieth year of his age, and it was not without reaſon he had been ſet aſide by Ethelbert; for, he was the moſt turbulent prince of his time, as the reader muſt have already perceived in the detail we have given of his wars with the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy. We ſhall only obſerve upon this occaſion, that his diſpoſition ſeems to have been cruel, from his propenſity to war, the dreadful ravages he committed, and the torrents of blood which he ſhed. He occaſioned the death of five chriſtian kings, and ſeems to have deſpiſed that religion; though we do not find that he prohibited the exerciſe of it in his dominions, or took the leaſt offence at the conduct of his ſon Peada, who married the daughter of Oſwy king of

Nor-

Northumberland, embraced the chriſtian religion, and brought a great number of miſſionaries into Mercia, where they preached the goſpel with great ſucceſs. An. Ch. 625. Bede, l. iii.

We have already related the manner in which he loſt his life in the eightieth year of his age, leaving five ſons, namely, Peada, Wolpher, Ethelred, Merowald, and Mercelin; beſides two daughters called Cineburga, and Ciniſwintha.

After his defeat and death, Oſwy the conqueror made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Mercia, which he kept three years, permitting, however, his ſon-in-law Peada to enjoy the little kingdom of Leiceſter, which his father had erected into a ſovereignty; but, this unhappy prince being afterwards poiſoned by his own wife, her father Oſwy took poſſeſſion of his principality, and retained it in his hands, together with the reſt of the Mercian kingdom, until it was wreſted from him by the gallantry of Wolpher. The reign of this king was almoſt as tempeſtuous as that of his father: for, he was continually at war with his neighbours, though his enterprizes did not always ſucceed. Certain it is he reduced the iſle of Wight, and afterwards beſtowed it in a preſent upon Adelwach, king of Suſſex, whom he had made a priſoner, and converted to the chriſtian religion. In all probability he ſubdued the king of Eſſex, inaſmuch as we know he diſpoſed of the biſhopric of London in favour of Wina. We have already related how he fought the battle with Eſcuin, king of Weſſex; and all that remains to be ſaid of this prince, is, that after a reign of hurry and action, he bequeathed the crown to his ſon Kenrid, but he was ſupplanted by his uncle Ethelred. Wolpher ſubdues the iſle of Wight. William of Malmeſbury.

This prince having ſucceſsfully uſurped his nephew's kingdom, diſmembered it of Hereford, which he erected into an independent ſovereignty, in Ethelred defeats Egfrid king of Northumberland.

An.Ch.625. in favour of his brother Merowald, who dying without iſſue, left it to his youngeſt brother; and when he died childleſs, it reverted to the kingdom of Mercia. As for Ethelred, he was a prince of a warlike genius, though not ſo ambitious as his father and brother. His firſt exploit was in the kingdom of Kent, which he ravaged without oppoſition. Then he turned his arms againſt Egfrid, king of Northumberland, whom he defeated in battle, and compelled to give up Lindſey, which had been wreſted from his predeceſſor. At laſt a peace was concluded between thoſe two princes, An.Ch.679. through the mediation of Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Ethelred paid a ſum of money to the Northumbrian king, in conſideration of the death of his brother Eſcuin, who was ſlain in the battle.

Bede, l. iv. Malmesb. l. iii.

Ethelred's queen Oſtrithe aſſaſſinated.

About this period, the ſtates of Mercia, with their king's conſent, divided their country into the five dioceſes of Worceſter, Litchfield, Leiceſter, Lindſey or Cednaceſter, and Hereford: and Ethelred ſeemed to enjoy the tranquillity of his ſituation; when his queen Oſtrithe was aſſaſſinated by the northern Mercians, who hated her becauſe ſhe was ſiſter to the king of Northumberland; but her huſband was not exempted from the ſuſpicion of being acceſſary to the murder, becauſe he took no ſteps to diſcover and puniſh the aſſaſſins. Whether his conſcience upbraided him as the perpetrator or contriver of this barbarous action; or his mind was really captivated by the pleaſures of private devotion, he reſigned his crown to his nephew Kenrid, and became a monk in the monaſtery of Bardney, of which he was afterwards abbot.

Malmesb. l. i.

An.Ch.704.

His ſucceſſor Kenrid follows his example.

Kenrid, having reigned four years, followed the example of his predeceſſor, and that of Offa, king of Eſſex, who had come to his court to demand in marriage his aunt Ciniſwintha. This princeſs, inſtead

ſtead of complying with the propoſal, perſuaded her nephew and lover to renounce the vanity of the world and go to Rome, where they received the frock and tonſure from his holineſs. An.Ch. 709.

Kenrid was ſucceeded on the throne by his kinſman Ceolred, a prince of greater talents and activity, who ſupported a ſevere war againſt Ina, king of Weſſex, with whom he fought a bloody battle at Woodensburg, in Wiltſhire, in which neither ſide could claim the victory, though both ſuſtained great damage. Ceolred, far from imitating the devotion of his predeceſſors, treated the monks with infinite contempt, and even violated ſome privileges of the clergy; no wonder then that his character was aſperſed, and his life treacherouſly taken away by poiſon; the effects of which were ſo violent, that he died in a delirium, which ſupplied the honeſt monks with a pretence to ſay, he gave up the ghoſt, blaſpheming and converſing with the devil. Ceolred of a different character. An.Ch. 716. Epiſt. Bonif.

He was ſucceeded by Ethelbald, grandſon of Eoppa, who was Penda's brother. This was one of the moſt illuſtrious princes who reigned in Mercia, and was choſen chief of the Saxon confederacy, after Ina king of Weſſex had abdicated his crown. But his ambition increaſed with his power, and he ſeemed to conſider that as an abſolute ſovereignty, which was no other than a privilege of preſiding at general aſſemblies, and of commanding the united forces of the Anglo-Saxons, whenever they ſhould take the field againſt the common enemy. Ethelbald, in aſſuming an authority to which he had no claim, incurred the jealouſy and hatred of the other Saxon princes, and the kings of Weſſex and Northumberland engaged in a league to humble his inſolence. Ethelbald being appriſed of their alliance and intention, aſſembled his forces, and invaded Northumberland, from whence he returned loaded with plunder. In the mean time his own dominions Ethelbald, a prince of great power, is ſlain in a ſedition.

were

An.Ch.716. were attacked by Ethelhard, king of Weſſex, who had already routed a body of his troops commanded by his ſon Oſwald; ſo that he advanced in order to check the progreſs of this intruder, who was obliged to retreat to his own country, and afterwards took Somerton in Somerſetſhire. He proſecuted other wars with the reſt of the Saxon princes, and defeated the Britons in conjunction with Cuthred, king of Weſſex, by whom he himſelf was routed in the ſequel. At laſt he loſt his life in a ſedition of his army, excited by a nobleman called Beornred, who was proclaimed king by the mutinous ſoldiers.

Ann. Sax. Hunting. M. Weſtm.

An.Ch.757. Such tumultuary proceedings gave great offence to the Mercian nobles, who, before Beornred had time to ſecure himſelf in his uſurpation, elected Offa, nephew to the late king, an active prince, who aſſembled an army immediately, and gave battle to the uſurper, over whom he obtained a complete victory. Having eſtabliſhed himſelf ſecurely on the throne, he glowed with the ambition of rendering his name famous for military exploits, and marched into Kent, whoſe king Aldric he vanquiſhed and ſlew with his own hand at Otford. The next conqueſt he atchieved was that of the Haſtings, who were either a remnant of the Britons ſtill unconquered, or a tribe of ſome other nation ſettled in the place where the Normans afterwards landed with William the Conqueror.

Succeeded by Offa, who renders himſelf famous for his military exploits.

Vit. Off. ad Calmuth. Par.

He was in the ſequel engaged in war with Alcmun another king of Kent, whom he reduced to obedience. He gained the advantage over Kinewulph, king of the Weſt Saxons, near Benſington or Benſon, which fell into his hands. He invaded and ravaged Northumberland; and his ſucceſs alarmed all the princes of the Heptarchy, who began to take meaſures for their own preſervation. The Britons, taking the opportunity of theſe diſ-

diſſenſions, made ſudden inroads upon the Engliſh, which, as they were unexpected, were ſucceſsful. Offa, in whoſe territories they had gained ſome footing, compromiſed matters with the Saxon princes; then turning his arms againſt thoſe invaders, not only compelled them to abandon the conqueſts they had made in Mercia, but even drove them out of part of their own country on the other ſide of the Severne, and ſettled it with Engliſh colonies, for whoſe defence he raiſed a ſtrong rampart, provided with a deep ditch, extending eighty thouſand paces, from the mouth of the river Dee to the confluence of the Wye and the Severne. An.Ch.757. Annotat. in Camden.

After this expedition he aſſociated his ſon Egfrid into the adminiſtration, and beſtowed his daughter Edburga in marriage upon Brithric king of Weſſex; he likewiſe defeated a body of Danes, who had made a deſcent upon the coaſt; and acquired a reputation for policy and war, equal to that of any monarch who had as yet preſided over the Saxon heptarchy. But all his glory was tarniſhed by the murder of Ethelbert king of Eaſt Anglia, whom he had invited to his court on pretence of making him his ſon-in-law; and there, at the inſtigation of his wife Quindrida, aſſaſſinated the unhappy prince, in violation of the moſt ſacred rights of hoſpitality. An execrable crime, which he had no ſooner perpetrated, than he ſeized upon the dominions of the murdered prince: ſo that his guilt was enhanced by the moſt ſordid and infamous aggravation. He is acceſſary to the murder of Ethelbert king of Eaſt Anglia. Brompton.

He afterwards pretended to feel ſuch compunction and remorſe, that he could enjoy no repoſe, until he ſhould receive indulgence from the pope in perſon; he therefore made a journey to Rome, and was abſolved of the guilt, on condition of becoming a benefactor to monaſteries and churches; an effectual atonement for the worſt of crimes: but, An.Ch.792. He makes a journey to Rome.

An.Ch.792. but, in all probability his penitence was not ſincere; becauſe he did not make reſtitution of the kingdom he had ſo wickedly uſurped. Among his other liberalities to the church of Rome, he extended the tax of Romeſcot over all Mercia and Eaſt Anglia; ſo that the alms originally intended for the ſupport of the Engliſh college was now converted into a tribute for the pope's uſe: becauſe it was payed on the feſtival of St. Peter ad Vincula, it acquired the name of Peter's Pence; and was conſtantly levied, to the diſgrace of this nation, until Henry VIII. aboliſhed the ſhameful impoſition.

Carries on a correſpondence with Charlemagne.

Offa, before he left Rome, prevailed upon the pope to canonize St. Alban, whoſe body was ſaid to be found at Verolam, where the king at his return built a magnificent church and monaſtery: and from this circumſtance the place derived the

An.Ch.796. name of St. Alban's, which it ſtill retains. He likewiſe made large donations to the church of Hereford, in a reign of nine and thirty years, which was ſignalized by a great number of remarkable tranſactions, namely, the Welſh dyke, the union of Eaſt Anglia and Mercia, the erection of Litchfield into an archbiſhopric, the eſtabliſh-

G. Malmeſ. l. i. Lambert. Sax. leg. Spelman Concil. ment of Peter's Pence in three and twenty counties, a body of laws, which he publiſhed under the title of Mercius Leaga, and a correſpondence which he maintained with Charlemagne.

Kenulph's cruelty to Egbert-Pren king of Kent.

Offa had already crowned his ſon Egfrid as his aſſociate in the government: but that prince did not ſurvive him above five months; and at his death the crown devolved to Kenulf, deſcended by a collateral branch from Wibba. He no ſooner aſcended the throne than he aſſembled an army, and marched againſt Egbert-Pren king of Kent, though the cauſe of the quarrel is unknown; and not only defeated and took that prince priſoner, but even ordered his eyes to be put out, and placed

another

another king upon his throne, which was thus rendered dependent upon the Mercian ſovereign. Kenulf died, after a glorious reign of four and twenty years, leaving a young ſon named Kenelm, and two daughters called Quindrida and Burgamida. An.Ch.796.

The eldeſt of theſe, infected with the deſire of reigning, employed a wretch, whoſe name was Aſcobert, to aſſaſſinate her brother; and this ruffian, having executed her baleful purpoſe, threw the body into a well, where it was found by accident: but the traitreſs did not reap the expected fruits of this abominable crime; for the Mercians ſupplied the vacant throne with the laſt king's uncle Keolwulph, who in leſs than a year after his elevation, was depoſed by Bernulph, one of the moſt powerful noblemen in the kingdom: he was ſucceeded by Ludican, with whom we ſhall cloſe this account of the Mercian kings. An. Saxon, An.Ch.823 Kenelm murdered by the machinations of his ſiſter.

Of the kingdom of Essex.

The kingdom of Eſſex or Eaſt Saxons, was bounded on the north by Eaſt Anglia; on the eaſt by the German ocean; on the ſouth by the Thames; and on the weſt by the kingdom of Mercia; extending ſeventy-five miles in length, and thirty-eight at its greateſt breadth. It comprehended Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Hertfordſhire; and its chief towns were London and Colcheſter. This country was erected into a kingdom by Ercenwin; but hiſtorians are ſilent with reſpect to the particulars of its firſt foundation, by which the ſucceſſors of Hengiſt loſt a country in all reſpects as conſiderable as the kingdom of Kent. The kingdom of Eſſex founded by Ercenwin. An.Ch.527.

Ercenwin's reign was protracted to ſixty years; but the particular tranſactions are not recorded. His ſon Sledda ſucceeded him on the throne; An.Ch.599. Sibert converted to Chriſtianity.

An.Ch.599. which devolved at his deceaſe upon his ſon Sibert, who was converted to the chriſtian religion, partly by the preaching of Mellitus, and partly by the ſolicitation of his own uncle Ethelbert * king of Kent. He afterwards ſignalized himſelf for his piety; and at his deceaſe the crown became the joint property of his three ſons, Saxred, Siward, and Sigebert: thoſe princes renounced the chriſtian religion in which they had been educated, and raſhly engaged in an unequal fight with Cinegils and Quinchelm kings of Weſſex, by whom they were vanquiſhed and ſlain.

Bede, l. i. M. Weſt.

An.Ch.623. Sigebert the Little dies.

The ſovereign authority was then veſted in Sigebert the Little, ſon of Siward, of whom we know nothing but that he lived and died: but his ſucceſſor was Sigebert the Good, deſcended from a brother of the pious king Sebba. He re-eſtabliſhed the chriſtian religion in the kingdom of Eſſex, with the aſſiſtance of Cedd, a Northumbrian prieſt, who was conſecrated biſhop of the Eaſt Saxons. Sigebert was aſſaſſinated by two of his own relations, who were exaſperated againſt him, becauſe he would not take vengeance upon Cedd, for having diſhonoured one of them with the ſentence of excommunication †.

G. Malmeſb. l. i.

An.Ch.653. Sebba turns monk.

He was ſucceeded by his brother Suithelm, of whoſe reign we can find no detail: but at his death the crown was poſſeſſed conjunctly by Sebba and

* During this prince's reign Ethelbert, in conſequence of his being chief of the confederacy, exerciſed a ſupremacy in his nephew's dominions, by building the church of St. Paul, in London, on the foundation of an old temple of Diana. It was conſecrated by Mellitus, who was the firſt biſhop. Sibert himſelf afterwards built another church on the ſpot, where a temple of Apollo had once ſtood, in the iſle of Thorney; now St. Peter's at Weſtminſter. Walſingham.

† This nobleman was excommunicated for fornication, notwithſtanding which the king went to partake of a banquet at his houſe, and upon his return he was met by Cedd, who, after having upbraided him with his complaiſance to ſuch a reprobate, prognoſticated his doom; and the prediction was literally fulfilled, in all probability, by the expreſs direction of the good prelate. Bede, l. ii.

Siger,

Siger, the ſons of Siward and Sigebert the Little. This laſt * relapſed into idolatry, but his colleague continued firmly attached to the chriſtian religion; they were both vaſſals of Wolpher king of Mercia; and Sebba ſurviving his aſſociate, reigned eleven years by himſelf, and then turned † monk in his old age; leaving his crown to his ſons Sighard and Senofrid, who reigned together in peace and harmony, and died as they had lived together, at leaſt the one ſurvived the other but a very little time. An.Ch.653.

Then the crown devolved to Offa the ſon of Siger, who repairing to the court of Kenrid king of Mercia, in order to demand Ciniſwintha in marriage, that princeſs, (as we have already obſerved) perſuaded him and her own nephew to embrace a monaſtic life. Offa's ſucceſſor was Seolred, ſon of Sigebert the Good, who reigned eight and thirty years; and then being murdered, though we know not the cauſe or circumſtances of his death, was ſucceeded by his ſon Swithred, the laſt king of Eſſex whoſe name is mentioned in hiſtory. Offa embraces a monaſtic life. An.Ch.694. Hen. Hunt. l. iv. An.Ch.709.

OF THE CHURCH.

WE have ſeen Auguſtin arrive in England as a ſimple monk and miſſionary: but, he had no ſooner converted Ethelbert, and acquired an unbounded influence with that monarch, than he began to aſſume all the pomp and authority of a patriarchal metropolitan, or apoſtle of the Engliſh nation. He was indeed conſecrated as ſuch at Arles, Auguſtin receives the pall from the pope.

* The cauſe of his apoſtacy was a mortality among his people, in revenge for which he reſtored the heathen rites.

† In St. Paul's in London, where his coffin remained ſo late as the reign of James I.

to which he made a voyage for that purpose; and at his return to Britain he sent Laurentius, with a monk called Peter, to make the pope acquainted with the success of his labours, and desire his opinion and direction touching certain points relating to the behaviour of the bishops and clergy. His holiness having considered and replied to the questions, which with their answers may be seen in Bede's history of the church, sent over Melitus, Paulus Justus, Melinus, and Rufinianus, to assist him in converting the Saxons; at the same time he transmitted directions about erecting sees among the new converts, and a pall for Augustin, which is an undyed piece of woolen cloth, laid upon St. Peter's tomb by the pope's own hand, and worn over the shoulders by metropolitans when they officiate. Augustin was likewise permitted by his master to convert the pagan temples into christian churches, after due purification, and to institute anniversary festivals of saints and consecrations, upon which the good people should build booths around those places of worship, kill oxen, eat, drink, and be merry with moderation. A very singular indulgence, judiciously granted to the English, who were used to good chear, and would not have at first relished the practice of fasting and other mortifications.

He endeavours to bring the British clergy within the pale of the church of Rome.

As for Ethelbert, he was become so zealous a convert, that he bequeathed his own palace to the church, and retired to Reculver, that Augustin might be more at his ease in Canterbury. Notwithstanding all these favours, and the princely magnificence in which he lived, this pious apostle could enjoy no content while the British clergy lived independent of his authority, and unsubjected to the see of Rome.

He employed all his art and industry to sound and soothe their prelates into a conformity with the Roman

Roman church; and at last they consented to a conference, which was held at a place since called Augustin's Ac, in Worcestershire, where they found his behaviour so arrogant, his pretensions so high, and his merit so small, that they rejected his proposal, of giving up their independency, even though he confirmed the claim of the Roman church by miraculously restoring to sight a Saxon convert of his own tutoring, who in all probability was not blind. That they might not, however, incur the charge of obstinacy, they desired another conference, resolving to deliberate upon an affair of such consequence; and Augustin agreeing to the proposal, they consulted a venerable hermit, who told them they might look upon Augustin as a man of God, if he was of a meek and lowly spirit, and behaved with that humility which ought to distinguish the followers of Christ. Persuaded that this was the real criterion of true holiness, they, by the advice of this sage counsellor, delayed appearing at the place of appointment, until they knew he was arrived; and then entering, they were received with all the state and haughtiness of a Roman emperor. He did not even rise from his seat at their approach; but insisted in a peremptory manner, that they should keep the festival of Easter, and administer the sacrament of baptism, after the manner of the Roman church. Far from being convinced by his arguments, and assured by his insolence that his call was not from above, they stedfastly persisted in refusing to conform with the Romish church, and to pay any other obedience to the bishop of Rome, than that which one christian owes to another in meekness and charity: at the same time they declared that the administration and supremacy of their church was, under God, vested in the bishop of Kaerleon. Augustin, incensed at this declaration, threatened, since they refused to

Bede, l. II. c. 2.

Spelman.

live in unity with him and his brethren, that they ſhould be delivered into the hands of their enemies; and in all likelihood executed his menaces, by inſtigating the king of Northumberland to deſtroy their ſeminary, and put them all to the ſword, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of that kingdom.

The people relapſe into idolatry.

Auguſtin did not long ſurvive this ineffectual effort, but before his death he conſecrated his fellow-miſſionaries Melitus and Juſtus, the firſt of whom was ordained biſhop of London, and the other promoted to the ſee of Rocheſter: but, after the death of Ethelbert and Sibert, the people apoſtatized and expelled theſe reverend prelates, who fled to France for refuge from pagan perſecution.

Laurentius, who ſucceeded to the ſee of Canterbury, ſeemed to inherit the pride and bigotry of his predeceſſor, and ſtill laboured to ſubject the Britiſh church to the tyranny of Rome; but when the ſon of Ethelbert and ſome other Saxon princes relapſed into idolatry, he began to think of making his retreat, and would certainly have croſſed the ſea, had not he found means, by a ridiculous contrivance *, to reconvert his king Eadbald, who afterwards reſtored the fugitive prelates. He was ſucceeded by Melitus, a prelate of noble extraction and eminent piety; and his ſucceſſor was Juſtus of Rocheſter, who was impowered by pope Boniface V. to conſecrate biſhops.

An. Ch. 619. It was at this period that Paulinus converted the court of Northumberland, and laboured ſo ſucceſs-

* He ſpent a whole night in the church of Canterbury; and in the morning going to the king, ſtripped off his cloaths, and ſhewed his back and ſhoulders bloody from the ſtripes he had received. When Eadbald demanded with equal ſurprize and indignation, who had preſumed to treat a perſon of his character in that unworthy manner, he replied that St. Peter had appeared in the night, and ſcourged him ſeverely for his having harboured the thought of deſerting his flock in the midſt of their diſtreſs. The ſimple king believed the good man's relation, and forthwith returned into the pale of the church.

fully

fully in the vineyard, that the inhabitants of Deira and Bernicia were baptized by thouſands in the river Swale. He likewiſe, by the aſſiſtance of one James a deacon, met with ſurpriſing ſucceſs among the Mercians, whom he baptized in the river Trent; and his fame extending as far as Rome, the pope honoured him with a pall as archbiſhop of York, and ſent another to Honorius, who had ſucceeded Juſtus in the ſee of Canterbury. Upon the death of Edwin, who had been the great patron of Paulinus, that prelate thought proper to retire to Kent, where he ſettled in the ſee of Rocheſter; while his colleague James the deacon remained in the North, notwithſtanding the paganiſm of the Northumbrian king, and proſecuted his evangelical labours without flinching.

Paulinus converts the Northumbrians.

The Weſt Saxons were converted to Chriſtianity by Berinus, who was inveſted by the pope with the epiſcopal dignity for that purpoſe, independent of Auguſtin and his coadjutors. The Mercians were not ſo ſoon gathered into the fold of Chriſt, as we have obſerved in the hiſtory of this kingdom. The merit of converting the South Saxons is aſcribed to Wilfred, after his expulſion from the ſee of York; and though he is ſaid to have confirmed his doctrine by miracles, his great ſucceſs ſeems to have been owing to the favourable diſpoſition of Adelwalch, who had already embraced the chriſtian faith, and to the great influence Wilfred acquired among the common people, by teaching them to fiſh with nets for their ſubſiſtence, during a ſcarcity of corn. Having thus given a ſhort ſketch of the manner in which the different nations of the Saxons embraced the doctrines of Chriſtianity, we ſhall now exhibit to the reader a ſhort abſtract of church-hiſtory.

The Weſt-Saxons converted by Berinus.

Bede, l. iv.

The archbiſhops of Canterbury not only endeavoured to extend their juriſdiction over the Britiſh

Theodore is promoted to the ſee of Canterbury.

tiſh church, but alſo to reduce the Scottiſh clergy to the dominion of the pope. Theodore, a Greek, having been promoted to the ſee of Canterbury, held a ſynod at Harford, where, among other particulars in the book of canons, to be diligently obſerved, he inſiſted upon their keeping Eaſter according to the literal direction, on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the moon in the firſt month. This was a ſtroke aimed at the Britons and Scots, who celebrated that feſtival by another rule; and two biſhops from Icolm-kill had prevailed upon the Northumbrians to adopt their uſage in this reſpect, though they had been converted by Roman miſſionaries. Oſwy, king of that country, conſidering the difference as a ſubject of great importance, propoſed a conference at Whitby in Yorkſhire, between Colman, one of the Scottiſh prelates, ſupported by ſeveral monks of his nation, and Wilfred, who had already brought over the queen to his opinion. The diſpute was of conſequence decided in favour of this courtly abbot: while Colman and his party renounced their preferment and retired to Scotland *.

A diſpute between Wilfred and Colman.

Bede l. iv.

The delicacy of Sebba.

We have obſerved, that Sebba king of the Eaſt Angles, became a monk under the direction of Walder biſhop of London. During his retirement he expended a large ſum of money in pious uſes, and was of ſuch delicacy of diſpoſition, that finding his laſt hour approaching, he deſired that no perſon ſhould be allowed to ſee him die but the

* In the ſynod held at Harford, and compoſed of Theodore archbiſhop of Canterbury, Biſi biſhop of the Eaſt-Angles, Wilfred biſhop of the Northumbrians, Putta biſhop of Rocheſter, Lutherius biſhop of the Weſt-Saxons, and Winfred biſhop of the Mercians; regulations were made, touching the behaviour of biſhops and monks, the nature of divorces, and the holding of a ſynod once a year at Cloveſhoo, ſuppoſed to be Abbington in Berks: but no diſpute was more eagerly maintained between the Romiſh and the Britiſh clergy than that of the eccleſiaſtical tonſure, which the firſt directed to be made ſo as to reſemble the crown of thorns that Chriſt wore.

biſhop

biſhop and two of his own domeſtics, leſt he ſhould in his laſt agonies betray the weakneſs of human nature; but he preſerved the dignity of his character to the laſt, and expired without a groan or convulſion.

Wilfred's influence with the queen of Northumberland.

Lutherius, biſhop of the Weſt Saxons, dying about this period, his place was filled with Heddi, conſecrated by Theodore, who exerted his authority even to the depoſition of biſhops, in the caſe of Winfred biſhop of the Mercians, whom he removed from his ſee, appointing Sexwulf as his ſucceſſor. To this prelate Putta biſhop of Rocheſter fled for ſhelter, when Kent was invaded by Ethelred; and being hoſpitably received, employed his time in teaching church-muſic. During the reign of Egfrid in Northumberland, Wilfred archbiſhop of York had acquired ſuch influence over the mind of the queen, that her huſband had recourſe to his mediation, by which he hoped to overcome a fanatical delicacy in this princeſs, that deprived him of the conjugal rites. Wilfred, inſtead of arguing her out of this ridiculous ſcruple, ſeems to have applauded her conduct; for, ſhe received the veil from his hands, and retired into a monaſtery, from whence ſhe afterwards fled to Ely from the importunities of her husband.

His ſee of York is diſmembered.

Her inflexible obſtinacy cured Egfrid of his paſſion; and he married Ermenburga, a princeſs of a very different complexion, who confirmed the king in his reſentment againſt Wilfred, whom he was reſolved to humble for his arrogance and preſumption: but the power and intereſt of this prelate was ſo great, that he would not venture to attack him openly, until he had effected a rupture between Wilfred and Theodore, who, at Egfrid's requeſt, erected ſeveral new biſhoprics in the dioceſe of York, without the conſent of the biſhop. Wilfred, enraged at this innovation, exclaimed bitterly againſt the

the metropolitan and the king, and demanded the revenues which had been converted to the maintenance of the new prelates. The king inſiſted upon the rectitude and legality of the ſteps he had taken, and Wilfred appealed to the deciſion of Rome, whither he went in perſon, and preſented a ſervile petition to the pope and council aſſembled for the purpoſe. In return for the groſs incenſe he offered to pope Agatho, he obtained a decree for being reinſtated in his biſhopric, on pain of excommunication to all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe his reſtoration. Wilfred immediately returned to England, in full confidence of recovering all that he had loſt. When he delivered his credentials to Egfrid, that prince ſummoned a general council of the clergy and laity, who aſſerted their independence of Rome; and Egfrid, finding himſelf ſupported by the opinion of his ſubjects, ſent Wilfred to priſon, where he lay a whole year, until his releaſe was obtained by the interceſſion of the abbeſs Ebba, a lady of the royal family. But, this favour being granted on condition that he ſhould immediately quit the kingdom, he retired to Mercia, from whence he was driven by king Ethelred, who dreaded the diſpleaſure of the Northumbrian monarch. He was alſo obliged to leave the country of the Weſt Saxons; and then took up his habitation among the South Saxons, where, as we have formerly obſerved, he acquired great influence and power.

He himſelf impriſoned and expelled.

Perhaps it was in conſequence of his ſucceſs, that Theodore invited him to a conference, in which all differences were compromiſed, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury wrote a letter in his favour to Alfrid the ſucceſſor of Egfrid, by whom he was reſtored to the ſee of York, and put in poſſeſſion of the monaſtery at Rippon. Not contented with ſuch indulgence, he inſiſted upon Hexham's being re-

Bede, Hiſt. Eccleſ.

united

united to his dioceſe, and the reſtitution of ſuch revenues of St. Peter's at York, as had been ſecularized by the king. Theſe arrogant demands embroiled him with Alfrid, who expelled him once more from his biſhopric; and about this period Theodore archbiſhop of Canterbury died, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, after having governed the church, as a metropolitan independent of the Roman ſee, to whoſe deciſion he paid no reſpect in the affair of Wilfred. He was a prelate of learning and piety; and this nation was obliged to him for an excellent library of Greek and Latin books which he imported, as well as for the pains he took in educating the ſons of the noblemen and other perſons of diſtinction. An. Ch. 690.

By this time Wilfred had retired into Mercia, and enjoyed the biſhopric of Leiceſter. While he there reſided, Birthwald, now archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſummoned him to a council at Oneſtresfield, where being convicted of ſeveral miſdemeanours, he was degraded from his function, though permitted to enjoy the revenues of the monaſtery at Rippon. From this ſentence he appealed to Rome; a circumſtance ſo highly reſented by the Engliſh ſynod, to which he had behaved with great arrogance, that he was puniſhed with the ſentence of excommunication. His inſolence.

Though now turned of ſeventy, he made another journey to Rome, where he was again acquitted in full ſynod, and furniſhed with letters of recommendation to the kings of Mercia and Northumberland. Ethelred payed ſome regard to theſe credentials, but Alfrid refuſed to hold any commerce with a perſon who had been twice condemned by an Engliſh ſynod. After the death of this prince, he endeavoured to introduce himſelf under the reign of Eadwulf, who rejected his propoſals and expelled him from his dominions. Nevertheleſs, He makes a ſecond journey to Rome.

he had by this time retrieved his intereſt in that kingdom to ſuch a degree, that immediately after the revolution which enſued, he found himſelf as much favoured by the new miniſtry as he had been deteſted by the former king.

He is created biſhop of Hexham.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury thinking it was now high time to accommodate matters with a prieſt of ſuch intereſt and aſpiring ambition, convoked a council near the river Nid, now in Scotland; and there it was decreed that John biſhop of Hexham ſhould be tranſlated to the ſee of York, vacant by the death of Boſa; and that Wilfred ſhould not only ſucceed to the biſhopric of Hexham, but alſo enjoy the revenues of the abbey at Rippon. Thus the dominion of the Romiſh ſee was confirmed in the triumph of Wilfred, who ſurvived this accommodation about four years, and died in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age.

Bede, l. ii.

A ſynod at Alne.

In the courſe of the ſame year there was a ſynod at Alne, convoked at the inſtance of Egwin biſhop of Worceſter, who by a grant from the pope had built a monaſtery at Eveſham, the privileges of which were confirmed by this council. This is the prelate who is ſaid to have been the occaſion of introducing image-worſhip into England, by a viſion of the virgin Mary, who commanded him to ſet up her image in his cathedral. But, the charters brought in ſupport of this aſſertion have been clearly convicted of impoſture; and it appears from the letter of pope Gregory to Serenus, biſhop of Marſeilles, as well as from the declaration of the venerable Bede, that pictures were permitted in churches for the inſtruction of the ignorant vulgar, in thoſe early ages of the church; but they never were the objects of adoration.

The power of the Romiſh ſee gains ground in England.

From the council of Nid, however, the Roman power continued to gain ground every day in the Britiſh church. Aldhelm biſhop of Sherborn wrote

wrote a book againſt the Britiſh manner of celebrating Eaſter; a performance which made a number of proſelytes; and one Egbert an Engliſhman perſuaded the monks of Jona, one of the weſtern iſles of Scotland, to adopt the Romiſh Eaſter, and receive the tonſure of that church.

The next eccleſiaſtical tranſaction of moment, is the famous charter of Ina, exempting the monks of Glaſſenbury from all epiſcopal juriſdiction. It was ſigned by that monarch and his queen Edilburga, Berthwald archbiſhop of Canterbury, and many other prelates of note; nay, it was afterwards ſaid to be confirmed by the pope. But, notwithſtanding all theſe teſtimonies, it is now conſidered as an impoſture; and indeed has been detected as a flagrant piece of forgery, contrived by the monks in after-ages. Stillingfleet. Antiq.

Berthwald archbiſhop of Canterbury dying, after he had poſſeſſed that ſee for ſeven and thirty years, was ſucceeded by Tatwin, a Mercian monk, who exerciſed all his metropolitan functions three years before he received the pall from Rome: and about this period, ends the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the venerable Bede, who was born in the biſhopric of Durham, and ſtudied in the monaſtery of Jarrow, where he acquired ſuch reputation for learning, that the reigning pope deſired his ſuperior to ſend him to Rome, that he might conſult with him upon ſeveral points of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline. Some account of Bede. Baron. An. I. v.

By this time a great profligacy of manners had crept into the Engliſh church, and proceeded to ſuch a degree of degeneracy, that a provincial ſynod was called at Cloveſhoo, in which all the Mercian biſhops aſſiſted, though the Northumbrian prelates do not appear to have been preſent. Here a body of excellent canons was compiled, for the reformation of abuſes, the reſtoration of diſcipline, and the punctual performance of the paſtoral function. At this Synod at Cloveſhoo.

this council Cuthbert archbishop of Canterbury presided; and it was even dignified with the presence of Ethelbald king of the Mercians, who had just amended his profligate life, and was become a munificent benefactor to the church, in consequence of a severe expostulatory letter he had received from Boniface archbishop of Mentz. After having finished the monastery of Croyland, he granted general privileges to all the monastic societies in this kingdom; and upon these grants and charters, the voluntary donations of devout princes, are founded the arguments used by the advocates for the independency of ecclesiastical power; though those very deeds declare they were no other than charitable concessions.

Spel. Conc.

Lambart elected archbishop of York; Litchfield erected into an archbishopric.

The see of Canterbury was, at the death of Cuthbert, filled with Bridwin, a noble Saxon of remarkable piety and discretion, who did not survive his promotion above three years. His body was demanded by Lambart, at the head of a party of soldiers, that it might be buried in the monastery of St. Augustin, according to the privilege of that order: but finding it already interred in Christ's-church, he appealed to the pope for satisfaction. The monks of Christ-church, alarmed at this appeal, fell upon an effectual expedient to disarm him of his indignation, by electing him archbishop; and he soon after received the pall from pope Paul V. This prelate exerted all his interest and industry to prevent Offa king of the Mercians, from erecting an archiepiscopal see within his dominions, by which his own metropolitanical power would be dismembered: but pope Adrian, to whom the dispute was referred, decided in favour of Offa, whom he empowered to erect Litchfield into an archbishopric, to which all the Mercian bishops were declared suffragans.

G. Malmes. de Gest. Pont. l. i.

This

This was the laſt blow given to the independency of the Britiſh church; for, it fixed Offa and his new elected archbiſhop Adulph in the intereſt of Rome, which was ſo ſenſible of the great influence it had gained by this compliance with Offa's ambition, that the pope ſent Gregory biſhop of Oſtia, and another prelate, whoſe name was Theophylact, in quality of legates to England. Theſe came on pretence of reforming the diſcipline of the Engliſh church, and executing the partition of the metropolitanical power of Canterbury. A ſynod was accordingly held in Northumberland, and gave aſſent to all the articles which had been already prepared by the legates; theſe were in effect little more than a confirmation of canons, which had formerly received the ſanction of the church; excepting however two new articles, one of which is an admonition to kings to reſpect the clergy, and the other a caution to the people againſt chuſing illegitimate ſovereigns. The decrees of this ſynod were afterwards confirmed by another council convened at Calcluith, which was more frequent and full than the other; and Adulph received the pall from Rome, without Lambart's daring to murmur, for fear of being impeached of treaſonable practices. Notwithſtanding this partition of the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, it afterwards retrieved the dioceſes which had been diſmembered from it, and Litchfield again became its ſuffragan.

A ſynod in Northumberland.

Spelm. Conc.

Offa having exerted himſelf ſo much in favour of the church, was conſidered in other countries as a very religious prince, and received from Charlemagne the decrees of the ſecond council of Nice, recommending image-worſhip, againſt which the famous Alcuin, who was an Engliſhman and tutor to Charlemagne, had writ with great energy and learning: indeed his performance had a remark-

Offa receives the decrees of the ſecond council of Nice from Charlemagne.

able effect among the Germans; for image-worſhip was ſolemnly condemned in a ſynod at Franckfort.

Athelard recovers the dioceſes of which the ſee of Canterbury had been diſmembered.

Lambart was ſucceeded in the archbiſhop of Canterbury by Athelard, who had been biſhop of Wincheſter; a man of learning and influence among the nobility, who had well nigh prevailed upon Egfer, ſon and ſucceſſor of Offa, to reſtore the ſee of Canterbury to its former power and prerogatives, when that prince was taken off by an untimely death. He carried his point, however, in the ſucceeding reign of Kenulf, who, being willing to deliver himſelf from the power of a metropolitan, lent an ear to the remonſtrances of Athelard, and even recommended his cauſe to the pope in a ſubmiſſive letter, which the archbiſhop delivered with his own hand. His requeſt was granted, and he obtained a reſtitution of all that had been diſmembered from his ſee: while Adulph was, at the interceſſion of Alcuin, allowed to preſerve the pall, though deprived of the power of conſecrating biſhops, or exerciſing any function of a metropolitan.

G. Malmeſ. de Geſt. Pont.

Council at Cloveſhoo.

Athelard having recovered the prerogatives of his ſee, convoked a council at Cloveſhoo, in which this tranſaction was confirmed in the preſence of Kenulf: and afterwards another ſynod was held at the ſame place, in which the ſevereſt eccleſiaſtical cenſures were denounced againſt any prince who ſhould make ſuch violations for the future; and any archbiſhop who ſhould conſent to them: at the ſame time, it was decreed that no layman ſhould take upon him the government of a monaſtery, and that no ſociety of monks ſhould chooſe a laymen for their chief.

Account of Alcuin.

The ſucceeding year was diſtinguiſhed by the death of Alcuin, who was a prieſt of extenſive learning and the moſt amiable character. Both Scots

Scots and Northumbrians claimed the honour of having produced this great man, who was sent by Offa as ambaſſador to Charlemagne, and retained about the perſon of that emperor, whoſe diſpoſition he ſoftened into an affection for the arts of peace. It was by Alcuin's perſuaſion he bridled his luſt of power and conqueſt, and encouraged the liberal arts, by founding the univerſities of Paris and Pavia, to which he invited ſcholars of all nations, but particularly thoſe of England and Scotland. Rog. de Hoveud. G. Malmeſ.

The next ſynod was held at Calcluith, where Athelard's ſucceſſor Wulfrid preſided; and the decrees which there paſſed, diſpenſed with the relics of martyrs at the conſecration of churches; prohibited the Scots, who travelled into England, from exerciſing any ſacerdotal function; confirmed all grants and decrees ſigned with the mark of the croſs, by princes and others who could not write, and obliged the biſhops to record the tranſactions of their dioceſes. Synod at Calcluith.

The ſame archbiſhop held another ſynod at Cloveſhoo, in preſence of Beornulf king of the Mercians; and the temporal powers of the kingdom, aſſembled to determine a difference between the abbeſs Quendrida, daughter of Kenulf king of Mercia, and the archbiſhop, by which the whole nation had been ſix years deprived of the ſacrament of baptiſm. Kenulf had quarrelled with Wulfrid about the manor of Leoneſham, which the prelate at length conſented to give up, on condition of his being reſtored, by the king's interceſſion, to his metropolitan rights, of which he had been deprived by the pope: otherwiſe he ſhould be poſſeſſed of his lands again. Kenulf died before he could perform his part of the agreement, and his daughter the abbeſs occupied the lands that were now claimed by the archbiſhop. So that the ſynod was principally called to compromiſe the difference, Difference between Wulfrid archbiſhop of Canterbury and the abbeſs Quendrida.

though the archbiſhop was obliged to go to Rome before the interdict could be removed.

Diſpute between the biſhop of Worceſter and the monks of Berkley.

We find afterwards another ſynod held in the ſame place, to determine ſome diſputes which had ariſen between Herbert biſhop of Worceſter, and the monks of Berkley. The cauſe was decided by oath, and the lands in queſtion were adjudged to the biſhop; but the temporal as well as ſpiritual powers agreed to the charter of confirmation.

Spelman's Conc.

EGBERT.

EGBERT.

EGBERT,

The First King of ENGLAND.

WE have already observed, that the pacific Brithric was no sooner dead, than the West-Saxons sent a deputation to Egbert; in consequence of which, he returned and mounted the throne of Wessex, and began to reign over a people both rich and powerful, in whose affluence and affection he foresaw his own future greatness. He had, in all probability, already planned the union of the Heptarchy; but before he would impart the least hint of that design to the other Saxon nations, he resolved to humble the Britons in such a manner, that they should be in no condition to interfere with the execution of his grand project. Mean while, in order to avert the suspicion of the Saxons, he acted as mediator in all the differences subsisting between the princes of the Heptarchy, and in particular effected a reconciliation between Eardulf, king of Northumberland, and Kenulf, king of Mercia, who had taken the field against each other, and were on the eve of terminating their quarrel by the sword.

An. Ch. 800. Egbert ascends the throne of Wessex, and is chosen chief of the Saxon confederacy.

These good offices, employed with such moderation, the prudence he manifested in his own government, and his known capacity in the affairs of war and peace, raised his character to such a degree of reputation, that he was considered as the father of the English kings, and chosen chief of the Saxon heptarchy.

Having thus established himself in the good opinion of his countrymen, he assembled an army, and marched against the Britons of Cornwall, whom

He defeats the Britons M. West. An. Ch. 823.

An. Ch. 823. he defeated in a bloody battle fought at Camelford, as well as in many other encounters: he likewiſe reduced Exeter, and ſubdued the whole country. The rapidity of his ſucceſs alarming Beornulf, king of Mercia, whoſe dominions lay contiguous to his conqueſts, that prince took the opportunity of his abſence to invade his kingdom; confiding, perhaps, in an alliance he had formed with the Britons, againſt the dangerous power and ambition of Egbert.

Obtains a ſignal victory over Beornulf king of Mercia.

This enterpriſing monarch was not ſorry to hear that the Mercian king had furniſhed him with an handle to recover the provinces which Offa had wreſted from the Weſt-Saxons, and even to break the power of that kingdom, which was the chief obſtacle to the execution of his vaſt deſigns: he therefore advanced againſt Beornulf, who met him at Ellandine, now Wilton, with a numerous army compoſed of luſty young men, who looked with contempt upon the diminutive meagre followers of the Weſt-Saxon monarch. A battle immediately enſued, and was fought for a long time with doubtful ſucceſs; but at laſt the conduct and diſcipline of Egbert prevailed, and the Mercians were defeated with terrible ſlaughter.

Camden.

Subdues Kent, and receives the ſubmiſſion of the Eaſt Saxons.

The victor, inſtead of purſuing Beornulf immediately into his own country, detached his ſon Ethelwulf, Alſtan biſhop of Sherborn, and Wulfheard, one of his eoldermen, with a body of troops into Kent, the people of which paid a very unwilling obedience to Baldred, whom they conſidered as no more than the Mercian deputy. And indeed that prince juſtified their contempt of his adminiſtration, by flying to the other ſide of the Thames, without having made any oppoſition to the invaders, whom he left in full poſſeſſion of the kingdom. The Eaſt-Saxons and part of Surry belonging to them, or to the Mercian monarch, diſſatisfied with

Chron. Sax. ad An. 823.

with the nature of their subjection to a people by whom they were oppressed, readily submitted to Egbert; and the East-Angles sent ambassadors to crave his protection and assistance against that nation, whose yoke they resolved no longer to bear. An. Ch. 823.

Beornulf, instead of running the risque of another overthrow from Egbert, marched to the other extremity of his dominions, in order to quell this revolt of the East-Angles, by whom he was defeated and slain: though the Mercians, even in this emergency, would not give up the kingdom of East-Anglia, which had been acquired by perfidy and murder; but, laying aside their intestine animosities, united in conferring the sovereign power upon a kinsman of their late king, called Luduan, who, having collected a body of forces, advanced to take vengeance on the rebellious East-Angles, and met with the fate of his predecessor. The Mercians are routed by the East Anglians,

The Mercians, not yet totally humbled by the successive calamities which had befallen them, still refused to submit to the dominion of Egbert, but raised to the throne one Withlaf, their eolderman, who could not withstand the victorious arms of the West-Saxon monarch, but was driven from province to province, and at last obliged to conceal himself in the abbey of Croyland; while Egbert made himself master of the whole Mercian kingdom. His misfortunes, however, excited the compassion of the conqueror, who in the course of the succeeding year restored him to the government; which, nevertheless, he held as a vassal and tributary. Thus Egbert's humanity and interest happened to coincide: for the Mercians bore their subjection the more easily, as they were still indulged with that form of government to which they had been so long attached; and ruled by a prince of their own chusing, who was a man of some parts and great popularity. and their kingdom subjected by Egbert. An. Ch. 827. Ingulf.

An. Ch. 827. Northumberland submits to his sway, and he is crowned king of Britain.

Egbert, having thus provided for the tranquillity of Mercia, was at leisure to prosecute his war with the Britons, who were unable to oppose such a general at the head of a veteran army, inured to conquest, especially as they were weakened by their own intestine divisions, particularly the war betwen Conan Tindaethwy prince of Guyneth and his younger brother Howel, who claimed Anglesey as his share of their father's inheritance †. Egbert, therefore, over-ran the whole country without opposition; so that now he saw himself, either by conquest or voluntary submission, master of all the kingdoms on the south side of the Humber, and resolved to extend his dominion on the north side of that river. The Northumbrian kingdom had been for a long time distressed by civil wars and usurpation, which had destroyed all order, and weakened the kingdom to such a degree, that they were in no condition to withstand such an invader as Egbert, to whom they submitted when he had penetrated with his army as far as Dore in Yorkshire. By this submission all the seven provinces of the Heptarchy were united under his government; yet, in order to give a stronger sanction to his power, he summoned a general council of the clergy as well as laity at Winchester, where he was solemnly crowned king of Britain; and this ceremony was no sooner performed than he issued an edict for abolishing all distinctions among the Saxon kingdoms, and commanding that the united Heptarchy should be thenceforward known by the common appellation of England.

An. Ch. 829.

G. Malmes. An. Sax.

He had now attained to the summit of glory; and saw the whole extent of South Britain subjected to his sway, and all the people enjoying in peace

† The custom of Gavel-kind still prevailed among the Britons, by which, though the eldest succeeded to the honours of the father, all the rest claimed equal shares of the inheritance.

the fruits of his prudent adminiſtration. But this tranquillity was ſoon interrupted by the deſcent of the Danes, who had already made ſome inconſiderable attempts upon different parts of the kingdom. They were a people compoſed of different nations, inhabiting the countries of Jutland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, though they uſed the ſame language, cuſtoms, and heatheniſh rites; and were prompted to undertake naval expeditions, by the plenty of wood and other neceſſaries for ſhip-building, which their country produced, the poverty of the ſoil, the redundancy of their numbers, and the example of the Saxons, with whom they ſeem to have had one common origin; for, they nearly reſembled that race in the ceremonies of their ſuperſtition, the make of their bodies, their inſenſibility of danger, their enterpriſing courage, their ſavageneſs of manners, their familiarity with the ſea, their rapine, and cruelty of diſpoſition. That there was, at leaſt, a mixture of Saxons among them, appears from the teſtimony of the moſt authentic hiſtorians, who tell us, that a great number of Saxon pagans fled before the arms of Charlemagne into Jutland and other northern countries, where they ſettled, and in all probability firſt taught the natives to build ſhips, and gather the harveſt of a pyratical navigation. This conjecture is juſtified by their conſtant practice, during a ſeries of years, of confining their ravages and depredations to the ſea-coaſts of that emperor's dominions.

An. Ch. 829. Deſcents made by the Danes; an account of that people.

We have already taken notice of their landing in ſmall numbers, at different parts of this iſland, in queſt of plunder; but thoſe were inconſiderable attempts, in compariſon with their invaſions during the reign of Egbert. As the Saxons had utterly neglected their naval power ſince they ſettled in Britain, the Danes, who ſucceeded them in the empire of the ſea, found no difficulty in landing upon the

Egbert is worſted by them at Charmouth.

An.Ch.829. the isle of Sheppey in Kent, which they ravaged, and returned to their ships laden with plunder,
An.Ch.831. without having sustained the least interruption. This success encouraged them to try their fortune next year at the mouth of the Tyne, where, having received a small check, they hoisted sail, and cruising along the coast, made a descent at Charmouth in Dorsetshire, where they landed to the number of fifteen thousand men. Egbert was no sooner apprised of their appearance than he marched against them at the head of a small body of troops, which he thought sufficient to chastise a band of pilfering pyrates; but, notwithstanding the impetuosity of his attack, by which they were at first disordered, they gave him such a warm reception, that he
An.Ch.833. might have been entirely defeated, had not the approach of night prevented the completion of their victory, and enabled him to retire unmolested, after having lost a great number of men, and among others two principal officers called Dudda and Osmund, with the bishops Herefrith and Wigen. The Danes were so roughly handled, that notwithstanding the little advantage they had gained, they retreated to their ships, without attempting to pillage
Chron. Sax. the country.

Obtains a complete victory over them at Hengsdown hill.

Yet far from being deterred from renewing hostilities, they, within two years after this adventure, equipped a great naval armament, and landed in Cornwall, where being joined by the Britons, they advanced towards the borders of Devonshire, with a view to penetrate into the territories of Egbert, who gave them battle at Hengsdown hill near Kellington, where they were totally routed, and almost their whole united army cut in pieces. By this great victory he entirely wiped off the slight stain which had stuck to his reputation since the action at Charmouth, and death soon put his fame beyond the reach of fortune; for, he died in full glory,

glory, after having reigned six and thirty years, with such ability and success as justly intitled him to the rank of a consummate politician and accomplished hero. An.Ch.838

ETHELWULF.

He is succeeded by Ethelwulf, who had taken deacon's orders.

EGbert was succeeded by his son Ethelwulf, who had been educated in a cloister, and actually taken orders, during the life of his elder brother; but, that prince dying, pope Leo granted him a dispensation to quit the monkish habit, and marry. After having been thus secularized, he had given signal proofs of personal courage in his father's expeditions against the Danes; but, he still retained an indolence of spirit, and an inclination for the repose of a monastic retreat. This, however, he could not expect to enjoy upon a throne, especially at a juncture when he was kept in continual alarms by the Danes, a bold, valiant, and indefatigable enemy.

In the very first year of his reign a body of those enterprising pyrates arrived at Southampton, in three and thirty ships; they had scarce begun to ravage the country, when they were attacked and routed by Wulfheard, one of Ethelwulf's best generals, who died immediately after his success. Nay, before the troops could be dismissed, intelligence was brought that the Danes had made a descent at Portland, whither the army was ordered, under the command of Edelhelm, who attacked the invaders with great intrepidity, and at first disordered their battalions; but they rallied, and returned to the charge with such fury, that the English were routed and their general slain. Chron. Sax.

The Danes defeat the English general at Portland.

In the course of the succeeding year, they landed at Romney, and defeated Herebert, an eolderman, who

They take London, Rochester, and Canterbury.

An.Ch.838. who was ſent to oppoſe their progreſs; then penetrating farther into the country, they waſted Lindſey, Eaſt-Anglia, and Kent, with great barbarity; and next year London, Canterbury, and Rocheſter, met with the ſame fate. Upon theſe occaſions, their ſole deſign was to obtain plunder, and they were generally oppoſed by the militia of the country in which they landed; ſo that they ſeldom or never found themſelves under the neceſſity of withſtanding the whole united force of the realm, as they always reimbarked with their ſpoil before the people whom they pillaged could be properly ſuſtained.

An.Ch.840. They defeat Ethelwulf at Charmouth. At length, however, they reſolved to make a ſettlement in the fertile plains of England, and arrived in a very conſiderable number at Charmouth, where Egbert had formerly been worſted. The landing of ſuch a numerous body could not fail to alarm the indolent Ethelwulf; and the ſteps they immediately took for ſecuring a ſettlement, effectually rouſed him from his lethargy. He aſſembled his forces without delay, and advanced in perſon againſt thoſe interlopers; but, as if the ſpot had been unfortunately omenous to his family, he was, after a very obſtinate engagement, obliged to leave the enemy in poſſeſſion of the field, though, even at this time, they did not think proper to maintain the footing they had gained *.

An. Sax.

Berthulf

* It was about that period, (if we may believe the Scottiſh hiſtorians) that the difference began between the Scots and Picts, which terminated in the extirpation of the Pictiſh nation. This people had routed the Scots under their king Alpin, and treated the dead body of that prince with great indignity. A circumſtance which exaſperated his ſon and ſucceſſor Kenneth to ſuch a degree, that his kingdom had no ſooner recovered the loſs they had ſuſtained in the laſt battle, than he marched againſt the enemy, where, reinforced with a body of Northumbrians, and having obtained a complete victory, he ordered all the men able to carry arms to be put to the ſword, and the reſt to be expelled the kingdom. Such a total extirpation reflects very little honour on the memory of Kenneth, and the account of it has all the air of a romance. That the Picts were utterly

ſubdued,

Berthulf, who had ſucceeded his brother Withlaf in the tributary kingdom of Mercia, quarrelled with the Britons, whom he engaged in a pitched battle at Ketell on the frontiers of both kingdoms, where Mervyne Vrych the Britiſh king was ſlain. Nevertheleſs, the war continued for ſome time, the Britons being ſupported by the Danes, and the Mercian reinforced by Ethelwulf, who, finding his dominions inceſſantly expoſed to the ravages of thoſe reſtleſs barbarians, eaſed himſelf of part of his care, in beſtowing the kingdoms of the Eaſt and South Saxons, with that of Kent, upon his ſon Athelſtan. An.Ch.840. He beſtows the kingdom of Kent, Eſſex, and Suſſex, upon his ſon Athelſtan. Aſſer. vit. Alfrid.

This was a judicious ſtep, for ſecuring the ſouthern coaſt; but the Danes met with much leſs reſiſtance in Northumberland, which was torn by domeſtic diviſions. Ethelred had been depoſed by his own ſubjects, and ſucceeded by Redwald, who, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, loſt his life in a battle with thoſe invaders, fought at a place called Calvetheley; ſo that the king was reſtored to his authority, and loſing his life in another engagement with the Danes, Oſwald aſcended the throne, and was aſſaſſinated by his own ſubjects, The Danes pillage Northumberland.

ſubdued, and their kingdom ſeized by the victor, is not to be diſputed; but that they were not utterly exterminated, or even wholly united with the Scots, ſo as to loſe their name and language, appears from the ſilence of the Engliſh hiſtorians, who would not have failed to take notice of the entire deſtruction of ſuch an antient and warlike people: beſides, Aſſerius Menevenſis, who, as we are told by Mr. Innes, lived near this period, far from mentioning this event, ſays the Picts were harraſſed by the Danes in the year eight hundred and ſeventy-five; nay, Ethelred, in his chronicle, and his cotemporary Ingulphus, affirm, that the Picts conſtituted part of the army of Conſtantine king of Albany at the battle of Brunford, againſt Athelſtan king of the Saxons, in the year nine hundred and thirty-ſeven. The Picts are mentioned as a people in Galloway, and the weſtern parts of Scotland, about the year eleven hundred and twenty-two, in a letter from Radulph archbiſhop of Canterbury to pope Calixtus; and Richard prior of Hexham informs us, as an eye-witneſs, that the Picts made part of king David's army at the battle of the Standard, in the year eleven hundred and thirty-ſeven.

An.Ch.840. or rather by the faction which never acknowledged his authority. These unhappy divisions not only exhausted the strength of the kingdom, but also assured a cordial reception to the Danes as oft as they thought proper to land; for they were always joined by the weaker party.

They are defeated by count Ceorl at land, and by Athelstan at sea.

While Northumberland lay open to their descents and inroads, the other parts of the kingdom enjoyed some repose, till at length, having exhausted and impoverished the unhappy country, they steered their course for the coast of Wessex, where they landed and ravaged the adjacent country; but, in returning to their ships, with great store of plunder, they were charged at Wenebury by the troops of Ethelwulf, commanded by count
An.Ch.851. Ceorl, and entirely routed. Encouraged by this victory, the young king Athelstan equipped a fleet, and attacking them by sea near Sandwich, defeated them on their own element, and took nine of their ships, which he brought safe into the harbour. Yet, notwithstanding all his activity, he could not hinder another body of the same nation from taking upon their winter-quarters in the isle of Sheppey.

They enter the river Thames, plunder London, and penetrate into Mercia.

Not at all discouraged by the frequent checks they had received, they returned in the spring with a fleet of three hundred sail, which entered the river Thames, so unexpectedly, that the two kings were in no condition to oppose such a formidable invasion; and while they were employed in assembling an army able to face such a number in the field, the Danes took London and Canterbury, penetrated into Mercia, where they routed the troops of Berthulf, who attempted to stop their career; and proceeded with such rapidity that they seemed to bid fair for making a conquest of the whole island.

But, they were at length obliged to desist from their enterprize, in consequence of having received advice

advice that Ethelwulf and Athelſtan had taken the field with a ſtrong army, in order to cut off their retreat. Theſe two princes were encamped at Okely in Surry; and thither the Danes directed their march, committing terrible cruelties in their route, which were ſoon retorted upon them with intereſt by the Engliſh, who defeated them in battle, and made ſuch carnage that few or none of them eſcaped. Yet even this overthrow did not diſpirit that ferocious people, who made their winter-quarters good in the iſle of Thanet, by means of the continual ſupplies they received from their own country. An. Ch. 851. They ſuſtain a terrible overthrow at Okely in Surry. An. Ch. 853. M. Weſt. Roger de Hovend.

As for Athelſtan, no mention is made of him after this period; ſo that one would imagine he had loſt his life in the battle of Okely: certain it is, Berthulf king of Mercia died before the expiration of that year, and was ſucceeded by Birthred, with the conſent of Ethelwulf, who not only beſtowed one of his own daughters in marriage upon that prince, but likewiſe aſſiſted him in his wars with the Welſh, who were at laſt obliged to ſubmit to the terms he was pleaſed to impoſe.

The battle of Okely, though it did not deter the Danes from renewing their deſcents, at leaſt ſupplied Ethelwulf with leiſure and opportunity to indulge his natural inclination for the converſation of monks, and the duties or rather bigotry of devotion. His confidence was ſhared between two prelates of very different characters: theſe were Swithin biſhop of Wincheſter, and Alſtan biſhop of Sherburn. The firſt by ſoothing his natural indolence, endeavoured to detach him from the vanities of the world, and diſcourſed of nothing but the joys of paradiſe; while the other, animated him by proper incentives, to ſupport the glory of his family, and take meaſures to ſecure his realms againſt invaſion: thus they ruled the heart of the king An. Sax. Ethelwulf is wholly governed by two biſhops.

An.Ch.853. king by turns. When the Danes alarmed the country, he was directed by the councils of Alſtan; but, in time of peace, he gave himſelf wholly up to the ſuggeſtions of Swithin, who inſpired him with ſuch veneration for the church and the clergy, that his munificence to both degenerated into the moſt exceſſive profuſion.

He ſends his ſon Alfred to Rome, and afterwards goes thither in perſon.

In order to manifeſt his devotion to the pope, he ſent his ſon Alfred, then a boy juſt turned of five, to receive confirmation from the hands of his holineſs, who is ſaid to have anointed him as a choſen veſſel, and prognoſticated his future greatneſs; and not ſatisfied with this teſtimony of his zeal, he undertook a journey in perſon to Rome, where he was received with particular marks of diſtinction by pope Leo IV. and in his return gave that pontiff the moſt ſubſtantial proofs of his ſubmiſſion and regard. He rebuilt the Engliſh college, which had been reduced to aſhes; engaged to extend the Romeſcot or St. Peter's pence over his whole kingdom, and ſaddled himſelf beſides with a yearly tribute of three hundred marks, two thirds of which were appropriated for defraying the expence of tapers for the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul; and the remainder for the pope's own private occaſions.

Aſſer. Minev.

Marries the daughter of Charles the Bald king of France.

Having, excluſive of theſe grants, which have afforded a pretext to ſome authors to affirm he had rendered his kingdom tributary to the ſee of Rome, made very magnificent preſents in gold and ſilver to the churches, biſhops, and clergy, and viſited every particular ſhrine, and adored every individual relic at Rome, he departed from that city in his return to England, and reſided for ſome time at the court of Charles the Bald, king of France, whoſe daughter he married in the thirteenth year of her age; a very impolitic ſtep in a prince who had ſeveral children by a former marriage.

An.Ch.855. An. Sax.

While

While Ethelwulf thus imprudently gratified the dictates of his ſuperſtition and love, he ſeemed wholly to neglect the intereſt of his kingdom, which he had left expoſed to the inſults of a rapacious enemy, without even appointing a regency to govern the ſtate in his abſence. The Surrymen and inhabitants of Kent, commanded by Alcher and Huda, attempted to drive the Danes from the iſle of Thanet, where they had made a kind of ſettlement: and in that hope attacked them with great intrepidity; but the victory, after a very bloody engagement, declared for the Danes, and the two Engliſh noblemen loſt their lives in the battle. After this advantage the Danes became more and more dangerous and enterpriſing; and biſhop Alſtan fearing the nation would be ruined by the indolence, miſmanagement, and mad ſuperſtition of a weak monarch, who had already given away a tythe of all the lands to the clergy; Alſtan, I ſay, being moved by theſe conſiderations, and, in all probability, piqued at the aſcendancy which his rival had gained over Ethelwulf, engaged, together with Eanwulf, earl of Somerſet, in a conſpiracy with the king's ſon Ethelbald, who had been a malcontent, ſince the death of his elder brother Athelſtan, becauſe he did not ſucceed that prince on the throne of Kent. Thus prepared with diſguſt and ambition, he was eaſily perſuaded to adopt the meaſures propoſed by Alſtan, who repreſented that the old king was in his dotage; and the kingdom was left naked to invaſion; that Ethelbald was injured and diſhonoured, in being denied the ſucceſſion of his brother; and that, in all probability, ſhould this new marriage produce any children, they would be preferred to the iſſue of the firſt marriage, in complaiſance to a young wife, and the power and intereſt of her father. Theſe ſuggeſtions not only reconciled Ethelbald to the expediency of preventing his father's return, but

An. Ch. 855. A conſpiracy is formed againſt him, in which his ſon Ethelbald is the principal.

An.Ch.855. likewiſe had a great weight among the nobility and people; ſo that a ſtrong faction was formed before Ethelwulf had the leaſt intimation of their deſign.

He returns to Britain, and compromiſes the difference with his ſon.

He was no ſooner appriſed of this conſpiracy than he quitted the court of France, and arrived with his young wife in England, before the conſpirators could take meaſures for preventing his return. Nevertheleſs Ethelbald openly maintained his rebellion, for which he found a new pretence, in his father's beſtowing the title and dignity of queen upon his young conſort, contrary to the law which had been made by the Weſt Saxons upon Brithric's being poiſoned by his wife. Every thing now ſeemed to threaten a civil war, when ſome of the principal noblemen and prelates, foreſeeing that ſuch inteſtine commotions would expoſe them to inevitable ruin, threatened as they were by invaders, interpoſed their good offices, and effected an accommodation, in conſequence of which Ethelwulf ceded to his ſon Ethelbald the antient kingdom of Weſſex; reſerving to himſelf the kingdom of Kent, comprehending the provinces of Eſſex and Suſſex.

Aſſer, Meney. G. Malmeſ.

He makes his will, dies, and is ſucceeded by his ſons Ethelbald and Ethelbert.

Ethelwulf, during the two years that he ſurvived this reconciliation, employed his time in works of charity and devotion; and finding his end approaching, ſettled by will the ſucceſſion of his dominions. Thoſe that he himſelf poſſeſſed were bequeathed to his ſecond ſon Ethelbert, and failing him, to Ethelred, and afterwards to Alfred, in default of their male iſſue; what other proviſion he made for theſe two young princes, we do not find in any hiſtorian, but he ordained that all his ſucceſſors ſhould maintain one poor perſon for every ten families within their own particular domains. Having made theſe diſpoſitions, he died in peace, and was ſucceeded by Ethelbald, in Weſſex; and Ethelbert, in Kent.

Malmeſ.

ETHEL-

ETHELBALD and ETHELBERT.

ETHELBALD gave a looſe to all manner of debauchery, and is even ſaid to have married his father's wife; though it is likewiſe added, that he was reclaimed by the admonitions of the biſhop of Wincheſter, made attonement for his vices, by benefactions to the church, and died a penitent, about two years after the deceaſe of his father. His crown devolved to his brother Ethelbert, a virtuous prince, whoſe reign was diſturbed by no cabals or civil commotion; though immediately after the deceaſe of Ethelbald, the Danes landed at Southampton, and penetrated as far as Wincheſter, the capital of Weſſex, which they plundered and burned, before their progreſs was ſtopped by Oſric and Ethelwulf, the Engliſh generals, who repulſed them to their ſhips with extraordinary courage; and thoſe pyrates flying for refuge to the iſle of Thanet, were permitted to live in quiet upon that diſtrict, in conſideration of a ſum of money to be paid to the Kentiſhmen. Ethelbert died after a reign of ſix years, during which he had acquired the affection of his ſubjects; and though he left two ſons called Adhelm and Ethelward, his younger brother Ethelred inherited his dominions by virtue of the father's will.

The Danes plunder Wincheſter. An. Ch. 857.

An. Sax.

ETHELRED I.

THIS prince had no ſooner aſcended the throne, than refuſing to part with a ſhare of his dominions to his brother Alfred, in conſequence of a previous agreement between them during the life of Ethelbert; this laſt being then in the ſeventeenth year of his age, demanded performance of the contract, in preſence of all the Engliſh nobility aſ-

A difference between Ethelred and Alfred accommodated.

An.Ch.857. ſembled at Swinburne, where a new convention was ratified, ſtipulating that Alfred ſhould ſucceed to the whole kingdom at Ethelred's death, and in the mean time poſſeſs certain domains for his ſubſiſtence, and be intitled to a ſhare of all the lands that ſhould be conquered by their joint forces. After this accommodation the two brothers always acted in concert againſt the common enemy, who were now become ſo formidable, that nothing but the moſt perfect union could withſtand the power of their invaſion.

Oſbert raiſed to the throne of Northumberland.

The authority which Egbert had reſerved over the kingdoms of Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland, had been lately much diminiſhed by the intruſion of thoſe ſavage pyrates, which obliged the kings of Weſſex to concentrate their whole power for the defence of their own dominions; ſo that thoſe three kingdoms began to withdraw themſelves by little and little from the ſupremacy of Egbert's ſucceſſors. The Northumbrians, as being the moſt remote, ſhook off their dependence entirely, and ſuppreſſing their former animoſities, elevated Oſbert to the throne, with the univerſal approbation of the people. By this union the kingdom would ſoon have been rendered as flouriſhing as ever, had not an unforeſeen accident revived their former diſſenſions, and involved them in a gulf of confuſion and calamity, from which they could not be extricated.

He raviſhes the wife of Bruen-Bocard, who excites an inſurrection againſt him among the Bernicians, and they chooſe Ella for their king.

Oſbert, who kept his court at York, returning one day from the chace, chanced to ſtop for refreſhment at the houſe of a nobleman, called Bruen-Bocard, ſuperintendent of the ſea-coaſt, who being abſent upon duty, the king was entertained by his lady, a woman of extraordinary beauty and accompliſhments, which inſtantly captivated the heart of the monarch. But her virtue being equal to her other attractions, ſhe received his addreſſes with diſdain; and he, inſtigated by a brutal violence of deſire,

deſire, ſubjected her by force to his wiſhes. The husband was no ſooner informed of this outrage upon his honour, committed againſt all the ties of gratitude and hoſpitality, than he devoted his whole attention to the ſtudy of revenge; and being a perſon of influence in the kingdom, excited ſuch a ſpirit of reſentment againſt the raviſher, that the Bernicians actually revolted, and placed Ella upon the throne; ſo that the civil war between the two provinces was renewed, and the country involved in all the miſeries of faction. Indeed the parties were ſo equally matched, that neither ſide durſt venture to hazard a deciſive blow, while each prince maintained a ſeparate ſovereignty. An. Ch. 85.

Bruen-Bocard thinking his vengeance ſtill incomplete, reſolved to call in a foreign power to make the ſcale preponderate againſt Oſbert; and for that purpoſe undertook a voyage to Denmark, which was then governed by a king called Ivar. To this monarch he deſcribed the weakneſs of Northumberland, and propoſed the conqueſt of that kingdom as an enterprize which he himſelf would facilitate to the utmoſt of his power; and Ivar eagerly embraced a propoſal in the execution of which he foreſaw ſuch advantage, and ſo fair an opportunity to gratify his private revenge againſt the Engliſh, among whom his father had been baſely murdered, at the court of * Edmund, king

Bruen-Bocard calls in the Danes to complete his vengeance.

* Edmund, king of Eaſt-Anglia, was the ſon of Alcmund, an Eaſt-Anglian prince of the blood-royal, who had retired into Germany when Offa took poſſeſſion of the kingdom. Edmund had returned to England, and been promoted to the crown of Eaſt-Anglia, at the death of Ethelwulf, in all probability with the conſent of Ethelbald. Lothbroch, king of Denmark, is ſaid to have viſited this prince, and to have been murdered by the huntſman of the Saxon king, without the privity of his maſter, to whom however the ſons of the Daniſh monarch imputed the crime. In all probability Edmund was innocent, as there ſeems to have been no provocation, and he is repreſented by hiſtorians as a meek religious prince. Matthew of Weſtminſter alledges that the huntſman aſſaſſinated Lothbroch, becauſe he had ſuperſeded his influence with Edmund.

An.Ch.857. of the East-Angles. He therefore embraced the count's offers without hesitation; and having equipped a powerful armament during the winter, set sail in the spring, accompanied by his brother Ubba, and Bruen-Bocard, who undertook to be conductor of the expedition.

They ravage Northumberland, defeat and kill Osbert and Ella; the first in the neighbourhood of York, and the other at Ellescroft.

They entered the river Humber, and landing without opposition, made themselves masters of the whole country lying to the northward of that river: then they directed their march towards the capital, where Osbert was employed in making preparations for taking the field against him. He had, upon the first notice of their arrival, sent deputies to Ella, desiring that their private quarrel might be suspended, and their forces join against the common enemy; and Ella had agreed to this proposition, from a regard to his own safety. He began therefore to assemble his troops in defence of his rival. If Osbert had but kept himself within the walls of York, the Danes would have been obliged to divide their forces; and in all probability their enterprize would have miscarried: but that prince giving way to the impetuosity of his temper, led forth his troops, without waiting for Ella, and charged the Danes with such fury, that they could scarce sustain the shock: however, summoning all their fortitude, they stood without flinching, until the ardour of the Saxons was abated; and then attacking in their turn, obtained a complete victory, Osbert himself being slain, with many thousands of his followers. The Danes after the battle entered York without further opposition; but understanding that Ella was advancing against them, at the head of a fresh army, Ivar marched out to meet him, and a second engagement ensued, as obstinate as the first, and as fatal to the Northumbrian, who there lost his life, and gave the name of Ellescroft to the scene of his misfortune.

Brompton. Sim. Dunelm. An.Ch.868.

Meurs. Hist. Dan.

The

The victorious Ivar met with no more oppoſition in Northumberland, which he entirely ſubdued: but not ſatisfied with this conqueſt, he penetrated into Mercia, ravaging and waſting the country in his route, until his career was checked by the appearance of king Buthred's army, which by this time his brother-in-law Ethelred had ſtrengthened with a powerful reinforcement. The Daniſh prince was ſtartled at the formidable appearance of the Saxons, whom he would not venture immediately to attack; and Buthred dreading the iſſue of a battle on which his all depended, took the opportunity of this pauſe, to offer a ſum of money, on condition the enemy would quit his dominions: the terms were embraced by Ivar, who returned to Northumberland, and in his march plundered all the convents and monaſteries, to which the people had conveyed their moſt valuable effects. Nor was the miſchief they did confined to the effects of their rapaciouſneſs: for they burned the towns and villages, raviſhed the women, and murdered the people, without diſtinction of age or ſex, from meer wantonneſs of barbarity *.

An.Ch.868. They penetrate into Mercia, plunder the monaſteries, and commit terrible outrages.

Aſſer. Ingulf. Flor. Wighorn.

Ivar leaving his brother Ubba in Northumberland, embarked on board of his ſhips with a body of choice troops, and made a deſcent in the kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia, where Edmund advancing againſt him, was defeated, and took ſanctuary in a church, from whence he was dragged before the Daniſh monarch, at Hegilſdon. This inſolent conqueror is ſaid to have offered him his crown again, on condition that he would do him homage, and pay an annual tribute: but his propoſal being re-

Ivar invades Eaſt-Anglia, and orders king Edmund to be ſhot to death with arrows.

* The abbeſs of Coldingham is ſaid to have prevailed upon her nuns to cut off their noſes and lips, that their beauty might not excite the deſire of thoſe cruel raviſhers; an expedient which, though it ſaved their honour, coſt them their lives; for, the brutal Danes, incenſed at their diſappointment, maſſacred thoſe virgins without mercy.

An. Ch. 868. jected by the East-Anglian king, the cruel Dane ordered him to be transfixed with arrows, and then commanded his head to be severed from his body; at the same time his tutor Humbert, bishop of the East-Anglians, was put to death *.

Sim. Dunelm.

Ivar having thus subdued East-Anglia, bestowed the crown of that kingdom upon a Saxon called Ecbert, devoted to his interest, and sending for his brother Ubba, began to form a project for making a conquest of the whole island.

Makes a descent in Wessex, and fixes his head-quarters at Reading in Berkshire.

The king of Wessex being the only power that could obstruct the execution of this scheme, he resolved to turn his arms against that monarch; and embarking his army, landed on the coast of Ethelred's dominions. Advancing in the sequel as far as Reading, they fortified that place as their head-quarters, and from thence made occasional excursions against the forces of Ethelred, who, with his brother Alfred, had by this time taken the field at the head of a considerable army; though the Mercian king refused to join them on this emergency.

He is defeated by Alfred.

This was a very active war, and maintained with equal bravery on both sides: for, in the compass of one year, nine pitched battles were fought with various success. One of the most considerable of these, was decided at Ashdown, in favour of the Saxon princes, by the sole courage and conduct of Alfred, who repulsed the Danes to their head-quarters, after they had lost several noblemen, generals of note, and many thousand soldiers who fell in the engagement.

But Ivar having strong reinforcements, was in two months after this defeat, in a capacity to hazard

* Edmund's head was afterwards found and interred at Saint Edmund's Bury, which derived its name from this unfortunate prince, who was looked upon as a martyr, and canonized, and a great number of miracles are said to have been wrought at his tomb.

another

ALFRED.

another battle at Merantun, which proved fatal to the Engliſh; for, though they gained a manifeſt advantage in the beginning of the action, the enemy rallied and returned to the charge, when they were diſordered in the purſuit, and obtained a complete victory over Ethelred †, who received a wound that proved mortal. He ſurvived his overthrow but a few weeks, and was ſucceeded by Alfred, whoſe coronation was immediately performed at Wincheſter. An.Ch.871. Ivar obtains a complete victory over Ethelred, who dies, and is ſucceeded by Alfred. Chron. Sax. G.Malmeſb.

ALFRED.

DEplorable was the ſituation of the kingdom, when this great prince aſcended the throne. The Danes had already ſubdued Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, and gained footing in the very heart of Weſſex; all the churches and monaſteries were burnt, and the whole face of the country deſolated. In the very firſt month of his reign he was obliged to march againſt this terrible enemy, who had advanced to Chilton, where a deſperate battle was fought to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh: yet the defeat was not ſo great as to deprive Alfred of all reſource; that indefatigable prince took ſuch meaſures for repairing the damage he had ſuſtained, that he was in a very little time enabled to hazard another engagement; and the Danes, who had been very roughly handled in the laſt battle, dreading his invincible courage and activity, propoſed terms of peace, which he did not think proper to refuſe. In conſequence of this treaty, they evacuated his dominions, and retired Alfred makes peace with the Danes. Aſſer.

† Thus died Ethelred, a prince of great valour and capacity, whoſe piety and devotion were ſo remarkable, that one day while he was employed in the private exerciſe of his religion, he would not be interrupted, though the Danes had attacked his army. He left divers children, one of whom, called Alfred, was the great grandfather of the hiſtorian Ethelwerd.

to

An.Ch.873. to the North, in order to ſubdue Mercia and ſettle their conqueſts in Northumberland.

They expel Buthred, king of Mercia; and appoint Ceolwulf king of that country.

They marched directly from Weſſex to London, where Buthred king of Mercia finding himſelf unable to cope with ſuch a powerful foe, eſpecially as Alfred was reſtricted by the treaty from favouring him with aſſiſtance, he purchaſed a peace from Ivar, who leaving the command to his brother Ubba, returned to Denmark, while this laſt conducted the troops to the banks of the Humber: from thence, however, they advanced in the ſpring as far as Rippon in Derbyſhire, with a view to conquer and make ſettlements in Mercia, which they ravaged in a dreadful manner, contrary to the articles of the peace they had ſold to Buthred, who being afflicted with domeſtic troubles, and incapable of acting with ſpirit and reſolution, abandoned his kingdom, and fled for refuge to Rome, where he died in the Engliſh college. The Danes finding no longer any reſiſtance, took poſſeſſion of Mercia, the crown of which they beſtowed as a depoſit with one Ceolwulf, an Engliſhman, who promiſed to reſtore it upon demand; and in the mean time oppreſſed the ſubject with ſuch intolerable exactions, that they would have thought themſelves happy under the government of a Dane.

Ingulph.

They receive ſupplies of men from the continent.

Ubba totally reduced Northumberland, which was now ruled by one of the Daniſh counts called Ruſig, who took poſſeſſion of the throne upon the death of the laſt king Egbert, and ſubdued Mercia, which was governed by a deputy: then the Danes began to fix themſelves in different habitations, and cultivate the country, as if they had been natives of the ſoil; ſo that England was in a manner divided between Danes and Saxons. Not that the generals had laid aſide all views of extending their conqueſts, when they planted theſe colonies; during their encampment at Rippon, they were reinforced by

by a ſtrong body of troops from the continent, commanded by Gothrun, Oſcitel, and Amund, who were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of kings; and this ſupply, while it rendered their power invincible, encreaſed their number ſo much, that they could not eaſily find ſubſiſtence in one place; ſo that they ſeparated into two bodies, one of which marched into Northumberland, under the conduct of Halden, while the three chiefs or kings fixed their head-quarters at Cambridge. An.Ch.873. Chr. Sax.

Notwithſtanding all the booty they had gained, and all the lands they had engroſſed, their rapacious diſpoſition was not ſatisfied: or rather the newcomers arrived ſo faſt and in ſuch numbers, that the countries they had already conquered were by this time occupied, and the late adventurers obliged to turn their eyes on another quarter of the iſland. Halden pretending that he was not bound by any treaty ſubſiſting between Alfred and Ivar, embarked in the beginning of ſummer, and ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of Wareham, on the ſouthern coaſt of Weſſex. The Engliſh monarch complained of this deſcent, as an infraction of the treaty; but was given to underſtand that the different bodies of Danes were independent of one another; and their ſeveral armaments fitted out at the expence of different companies of adventurers; ſo that any agreement made with one of thoſe bands could have no effect upon the operations of the others. Alfred, thus reduced to the neceſſity of repelling force by force, aſſembled his troops without delay, and took the field with ſuch confidence and alacrity, that Halden thought proper to ſue for peace, and a treaty was concluded in the moſt ſolemn manner; the Engliſh king ſwearing upon the relics of the ſaints to obſerve it punctually, and the Daniſh general taking an oath to the ſame purport upon the

Halden makes a deſcent upon Weſſex.

Engages in a treaty with Alfred.

An.Ch.873. Asser. Spelman. the bracelet, which was the most sacred object of the Danish adoration.

An.Ch.876. They surprise Exeter, and are defeated at sea. In direct violation of this solemn agreement, they fell upon the English cavalry in the night, destroyed the men, mounted their own soldiers on the horses, and surprised the city of Exeter, to which place part of their infantry began their march by land, while the remainder was embarked on board of their shipping, to be conveyed thither by sea. Alfred, equally incensed and concerned at the perfidious conduct of those pyrates, whom no ties of faith could restrain; and seeing the manifest advantage they had over him, in the convenience of their ships, by which they could not only receive supplies from their own country, but also transport themselves from one place to another occasionally, with such ease and expedition; resolved to provide himself with a navy, for the security of his coasts, and having invited artists from foreign countries, carried his plan into execution with such amazing diligence, that in a few months he was in possession of a powerful navy, composed of large vessels superior in strength and burden to the small Danish transports, and manned with hardy Frisians, whom he had engaged in his service. With these, being reinforced by a sufficient number of troops, and supplied with all sorts of necessary stores and ammunition, he put to sea and attacked the Danish fleet, consisting of an hundred and twenty ships, bound for Exeter with men and provisions, and destroyed their whole armada, while his army blocked up the town by land. This was such a decisive stroke, that the besieged, despairing of relief, had recourse to negotiations; and Alfred consented to a peace, on condition that they should give hostages, ratify the treaty by oath, and depart from his kingdom immediately. These propos[illegible] they

they willingly embraced, and retired forthwith into Mercia, in order to wait for an opportunity to recommence hoſtilities with ſome proſpect of ſucceſs. An. Ch. 876.

The Weſt-Saxons were no ſooner rid of this enemy, than viſited by another, in the perſon of the famous Rollo, who landed on the coaſt; but either finding the Engliſh prepared to give him a warm reception, or unwilling to interfere with the conqueſts of his countrymen, he reimbarked and turned his arms againſt France, which he harraſſed inceſſantly, until he made himſelf maſter of Normandy, where he fixed his habitation. As for the Danes, who retired into Mercia, they dethroned Ceolwulph, whom they had elevated, and parcelled out the kingdom into counties; in imitation of Halden's conduct in Northumberland, who had, upon the death of Ruſig, given the crown to another vaſſal king of the name of Ecbert: but him he ſoon depoſed, and divided the country among the Daniſh chiefs. Rollo lands in England.

Mean while ſuch numbers arrived from the continent, that they were hampered for want of room in the three kingdoms which at preſent they poſſeſſed; and, in order to remove this inconvenience, as well as to prevent themſelves from being elbowed out of their own poſſeſſions by freſh ſwarms of new adventurers, they determined to make a general effort againſt Alfred, and expel him from his dominions. As they were well acquainted with the heroic valour, capacity, and fortitude of that prince, they prepared for this expedition with the utmoſt ſecreſy, and having aſſembled a prodigious army, poured in upon the kingdom like a deluge. Chippenham, in North-Wiltſhire, one of the moſt conſiderable towns of Weſſex, was inſtantly reduced; and the whole country ſeized with ſuch conſternation, that ſome fled into Wales with precipitation, The Danes invade Weſſex in vaſt numbers.

An.Ch.876. cipitation, while others ſubmitted and ſwore allegiance to the invaders.

Alfred enters into the ſervice of a cowherd.

Alfred, finding it impracticable to appeaſe their fears, or collect a body of forces to face the enemy, yielded to the torrent of misfortune, without reſigning his courage or his hope, and concealed himſelf from the purſuit of his foes, in the moſt obſcure paths of humility. Having diſpoſed his family among perſons of known fidelity and attachment, he diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a common ſoldier, and engaged in the ſervice of his own * cowherd, after having concerted meaſures for reaſſembling a few truſty friends, whenever an opportunity ſhould offer of annoying the enemy, who had by this time reduced the whole country to ſubjection. This choſen band, rather than forfeit their liberty, and renounce their allegiance to their native prince, retreated to the woods and marſhes of Somerſetſhire, from whence they ſallied out occaſionally upon the ſtraggling parties of the Danes, whom they hewed in pieces without mercy.

Retires to the iſle of Athelney, near Taunton.

Their ſucceſs in theſe irruptions not only enabled them to live in this ſavage ſtate of independency, but contributed to the increaſe of their number, by encouraging others to join their ſo-

* While Alfred remained in this humble ſtation, he one day incurred the diſpleaſure of his landlady, by neglecting to turn a cake that was baking at the fire: ſhe chid him very ſeverely for his lazineſs, and told him, though he could not turn a cake, he could eat it faſt enough. The patient prince begged pardon, and promiſed to be more alert for the future. During his retreat in the iſle of Athelney, a beggar came and requeſted alms, at a time when he had but one ſmall loaf for the ſubſiſtence of him and his attendants, ſome of whom had gone abroad in queſt of food, though with very little hope of ſucceſs, the adjacent country being waſte and deſolate. Notwithſtanding this miſerable exigency, he divided the loaf with the mendicant; and this act of charity, which in a ſignal manner denotes the benevolence of his heart, was recompenſed by a providential ſtore of freſh proviſion with which his people returned. With reſpect to the viſion of St. Cuthbert, formerly biſhop of Lindisfarne, who is ſaid to have appeared to him and his wife upon this occaſion, the reader needs not be told what credit it deſerves.

ciety.

ciety. Thus augmented, they retired into the isle of Athelney, near Taunton, environed on all sides with brakes and an impassable morass, except a small path practicable by a footman in summer only, which led to an inconsiderable fortress; and this was the residence of Alfred and his consort, who were reduced to the utmost extremity of want, which they patiently sustained during four months, comforting one another with the hope of better fortune; in which they were not disappointed. An Ch. 876.

Ubba, the chief of the Danish commanders, had ravaged the country of Wales without opposition; and in his return invested the castle of Kenwith, in Devonshire, to which Odun, earl of that county, had retired with a small body of troops, at the approach of the Danes: this gallant nobleman finding himself unable to sustain a siege, and knowing there was no safety in surrendering to such a cruel, perfidious enemy, represented to his followers that they had nothing to depend upon but their valour, and proposed that they should cut their way through the besiegers with their swords. The proposal was embraced, and they sallied out upon the Danes, secure in their numbers and in their contempt of the English; and not only routed them with great slaughter, and slew Ubba, but also took their famous standard, exhibiting the picture of a raven, which was wrought by Ubba's sisters, and revered as an hallowed ensign. Ubba is defeated and slain by Odun, earl of Devon. Brompt. Coll.

This victory re-animated the drooping spirits of the West-Saxons; and Alfred took the advantage of their favourable disposition, as well as the security of the enemy, who no longer kept within their entrenchments, but dispersed themselves in a careless manner over the whole face of the country. That he might be perfectly informed of the enemies posture, he entered their camp in person, in the habit of a harper, and remained in the midst of Alfred reconnoitres the Danish camp in the habit of a harper.

An.Ch.876. of his enemies three whole days, during which he ſtrolled about, and reconnoitred every particular of their oeconomy and ſituation. He found them lulled in the moſt ſupine ſecurity, ſpending their time in riots and feaſting, without even appointing the common guards of a camp. Having made his obſervations, he returned to his retreat, and detached proper emiſſaries among his ſubjects, whom he appointed to meet him in arms at Brexton, in the foreſt of Selwood, where they aſſembled with great alacrity, under a prince whom they adored.

Obtains a complete victory over them at Yattendun, on the ſkirts of Hampſhire.

An.Ch.878. From thence he began his march, in the week preceding Whiſuntide, towards the Danes, who lay encamped at Yattendun, on the ſkirts of Hampſhire; and in the morning of the third day was in ſight of the enemy, before they knew he had taken the field. Without giving them time to recollect themſelves from their ſurprize, or range their troops in order of battle, he fell upon them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were immediately routed with great ſlaughter; and though the remains of them, amounting to a good number, fled for refuge into a fortified camp in the neighbourhood, they were unprovided for a ſiege, and in leſs than a fortnight obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. The victor having taken hoſtages for the performance of articles, propoſed that they ſhould either quit the country, after having promiſed upon oath, that they would never return; or embrace the chriſtian faith, and be contented with ſuch lands as he ſhould aſſign for their ſubſiſtence.

Gothrun, the Daniſh king, is baptized at Alfred's court.

Thoſe who did not chooſe to part with their old religion, embarked for Flanders, where they exerciſed their old trade of depredation, under the command of one of their generals called Haſtings: while Gothrun, their ſole ſurviving chief in England, became a convert to Chriſtianity, and was baptized, with thirty of his principal noblemen and

a great number of officers, at Aller in Somerſetſhire, where Alfred kept his court. That prince ſtood godfather to Gothrun, who having received ſome valuable preſents, and been royally entertained, returned with his retinue to the Daniſh army, which, retiring into Mercia, halted for ſome time at Cirenceſter. From thence they marched into the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles, which, with the county of Eſſex, was allotted for their habitation, and Gothrun was permitted to govern it as a feudatory prince *. An.Ch.878. Aſſer. Spelm. Vit. Ælfred. G. Malmeſ.

He ſupplied this Daniſh prince with a ſhort code of laws, for the government of his ſubjects; calculated for the propagation of Chriſtianity, the payment of tythes, and other rites of the clergy, the puniſhment and prevention of inceſtuous marriages, the abolition of ſorcery and divination, the regulation of the boundaries, the encouragement of commerce, and the reſtraint of rapine. Theſe wholeſome inſtitutions had the deſired effect, in civilizing the Danes of Eaſt Anglia, while thoſe who had ſettled in Mercia, enjoying the privileges of free denizens, were ſoon reconciled to a peaceable life, and lived happily under the adminiſtration of one Ethelred, a nobleman of great virtue and ability, on whom Alfred beſtowed this government with his own ſiſter Elflida. He receives a code of laws from the Engliſh king.

Of thoſe Danes who had inliſted with Haſtings, one body ſeparating from the reſt, pillaged Flanders, Picardy, Hainault, and Artois, then returned to England, and landing on the coaſt of Kent, advanced towards Rocheſter, in hope of ſurpriſing that city; but, finding that Alfred had taken the field to oppoſe their progreſs, they retired to their ſhips, and rejoined their companions, whom they aſſiſted in ravaging the country of France. In Alfred fortifies the ſea-coaſt, and takes London, which, with the kingdom of Mercia, he beſtows as a fief upon his ſon-in-law Ethelred.

* It was in this year that Alfred built the town of Shafteſbury. Camden.

An Ch.878. order to prevent such depredations for the future, the English monarch equipped a strong fleet, with which he attacked and destroyed sixteen Danish ships in the port of Harwich; and protected the coast of his realm from those enterprising free-booters: at the same time he repaired the decayed castles on the sea-side, and built a number of new fortifications, so as to cover his whole country from insult and invasion, except by one avenue, which he could not shut. This was the river Thames, through which the Danes had free access to his dominions, while they continued in possession of London. He therefore invested that city, which being weakly garrisoned, was easily reduced; and then having augmented its fortifications, and embellished it with a number of new edifices, he delivered it in charge to his son-in-law Ethelred, or rather bestowed it upon him as a fief of the county
An.Ch.879. of Mercia.

The princes of North and South Wales do homage to Alfred.

Alfred had now attained to the meridian of power and glory; he possessed a greater extent of territory than had ever been enjoyed by any one of his ancestors; the princes of South and North Wales did him homage for their principalities; the Northumbrians being left without a chief, at the death of Halden, desired a king of his creating, and he recommended Guthred, of Danish extraction, but a Saxon by birth, and a zealous christian, who proved a munificent benefactor to the church of Durham.

Asser.

Sim. Dunelm.

He encourages arts and sciences.

Having thus established his authority, founded equally on fear and affection, his whole empire enjoyed the most profound tranquillity during a series of twelve years, which he employed in cultivating the arts of peace, and in repairing the mischiefs with which the war had been attended. He rebuilt the monasteries and churches; fortified and adorned a number of towns, and by appointing London as

the

the place at which the assembly of the states should convene twice every year, declared that city the metropolis of England. He invited artificers and manufacturers from abroad, by offering them extraordinary encouragement; and being himself a man of uncommon taste and erudition, his patronage was royally extended to all those who had made any progress in learning or the liberal arts. An.Ch.879.

Not contented with employing and promoting the learned among his own subjects, he by his bounty allured divers foreigners of distinguished talents, and established them in a seminary at Oxford *, where Germanus and his successors had formerly maintained a school for the education of the British youth. On this occasion three halls were founded for the different branches of grammar, philosophy, and theology, and a certain stipend settled for the maintenance of a professor and six and twenty scholars in each, to be restricted under proper regulations, relating to their study and religious duties. These three halls being incorporated, acquired the name of university; so that Alfred is justly celebrated as the founder of that venerable institution. Establishes the university of Oxford. Spelm. vit. Ælfrid.

That he might be the better able to extend his charity and munificence, he regulated his finances with the most perfect oeconomy, and divided his revenue into a certain number of parts, which he appropriated to the different expences of the state, and the exercise of his own private liberality and devotion. Nor was he less an oeconomist in the distribution of his time, which he divided into three His oeconomy and devotion.

* Of those professors that came to England upon his invitation, the most distinguished were Grimbaldus, and Joannes Scotus Erigena, who had writ a treatise against the real presence in the eucharist. These two learned divines were employed at Oxford in the instruction of youth, but afterwards removed from thence, one to the new monastery founded by Alfred at Winchester, and the other to Malmsbury. Asser. vit. Alfred.

An. Ch. 879. equal portions, allotting one to ſleep, meals, and exerciſe; and devoting the other two to writing, reading, buſineſs, and prayer. That this diviſion might not be encroached upon through inadvertency, he meaſured them by tapers of an equal ſize, which he kept continually burning before the ſhrines of relics. Theſe were his conſtant companions whereſoever he travelled; and leſt the tapers ſhould be affected by the wind or other accidents, he contrived horn lanterns, in which they were equally conſumed. But nothing deſerves our admiration more than the meaſures he took to form a militia, under ſuch wiſe regulations, that every ſingle man of his dominions underſtood the exerciſe of arms; and by means of beacons placed at proper diſtances, and lighted upon any alarm, a body of well-trained forces was ſtill ready to take up their arms, and aſſemble at the place of rendezvous, under the lieutenant of the country where the immediate ſervice was required. Alfred ſeemed to be a genius ſelf-taught, that contrived and comprehended every thing that could contribute to the ſecurity of his kingdom. He had invented a kind of galley wrought with oars, of ſuch a conſtruction, as rendered it an over-match for any ſhip of war known at that period of time. Of theſe he had an hundred and twenty, which not only ſcoured the ſeas of the piratical Danes, and covered his coaſts from invaſion, but protected the commerce of his ſubjects, which flouriſhed to a great extent: inſomuch that the nation abounded with wealth, and all the richeſt commodities of India, from whence were imported thoſe valuable gems which adorned the crown he wore upon all ſolemn occaſions.

Aſſer. vit. Ælfrid.

A fleet of Daniſh ſhips enter the Thames.

The happineſs and peace which the people of England enjoyed under the parental ſway of this excellent prince, having laſted twelve years without interruption, was at length invaded by new

alarms. The Danes, under Haſtings, having received two terrible checks from Eudes and Arnold, kings of France and Germany, reſolved to try their fortune once more in England, not with a view to make a ſettlement, but in hope of enriching themſelves with plunder; for this purpoſe, they equipped three hundred veſſels, which they divided into two fleets, and one of theſe, conſiſting of two hundred ſail, bent its courſe towards Kent, where the adventurers landing, ſurpriſed Appledore. The other entered the river Thames, under the command of Haſtings, who made himſelf maſter of Milton, and he and his colleague ſeemed to vye with each other in acts of rapine and barbarity. Alfred was at that time in Eaſt Anglia, ſettling the affairs of the kingdom upon the death of Guthrun: and he no ſooner received intelligence of the invaſion than he exacted a new oath of allegiance from his Eaſt-Anglian ſubjects, Danes as well as Engliſh. An.Ch.879.

Having taken this precaution, he quitted that country, in order to march againſt the enemy; but his back was no ſooner turned, than the Eaſt Anglian Danes declared in favour of their countrymen, and joined Haſtings, in hope of ſharing his good fortune. Alfred in the mean time aſſembled his troops, and advanced againſt that body of the invaders who ravaged the county of Kent; but, being informed in his march, that another ſwarm had lighted upon Weſſex, he changed his route, in order to face thoſe who had penetrated into the heart of his own country. They had already inveſted Exeter; but being apprized of his approach, they raiſed the ſiege with precipitation, and retired to their ſhips. Their next attempt was upon Chicheſter, in which miſcarrying they ſailed to Beamflete, and joined Haſtings, who being thus reinforced, Another body inveſts Exeter.

An.Ch.879. forced, ventured to make an incurſion to the borders of Mercia, while Alfred was at a diſtance.

The Engliſh troops beat up the Daniſh quarters at Beamflete.

The Engliſh troops, taking the advantage of his abſence, found means to beat up his quarters at Beamflete, where they found his wife and children, who had been baptized; theſe being conveyed to Alfred, he ſent them back to the Daniſh general, with a meſſage importing that he did not make war upon women and chriſtians.

Haſtings retires into Eaſt-Anglia,

Haſtings, unwilling to wait for the king's return from the Weſt, marched with great diligence as far as Shropſhire, in his way to Wales, where he expected to be joined by the Britons. But, the Engliſh generals followed him with equal ſpeed, and at length blocked him up in Buttington, where he and his troops being reduced to extremity, made a deſperate effort to cut their paſſage through the army of the beſiegers; and though the greateſt part was ſlain, the reſt effected a retreat into Eaſt Anglia.

winters at Cheſter, and returns to North-umberland.

There they raiſed a freſh body of troops; and being reinforced by their countrymen of Northumberland, ſet out again for Wales, and marched with ſuch expedition, that they arrived at Cheſter, where they fortified themſelves, before the Engliſh forces could come up. As the ſeaſon was too far advanced for the undertaking of the ſiege, they were allowed to winter in that deſolate place, from whence they began their march in the beginning of ſpring for Northumberland, and at length arrived in Eaſt Anglia.

The Danes compelled to quit the kingdom.

Towards the latter end of the year, they advanced to the borders of Mercia, and erected two forts at Hertford on the Ley, for the ſecurity of their ſhips which they had brought up that river. Here they were attacked by the Londoners, who were repulſed. But Alfred, approaching with his army, and viewing the nature of their ſituation, turned

turned the courſe of the ſtream; ſo that their veſſels were left on dry ground: a circumſtance which terrified them to ſuch a degree, that they abandoned their forts; and flying towards the Severne, were purſued by Alfred as far as Quatbridge. There they intrenched themſelves for the preſent, until they found an opportunity of retiring into Northumberland, where their friends ſupplied them with ſhips, in which they embarked for Normandy in a miſerable plight; after having remained in England three years, during which they had undergone a ſeries of miſery and miſchance, harraſſed, hunted, and diminiſhed one half in their number, by diſeaſes, famine, and the ſword. After their departure, Alfred found no difficulty in reducing the Eaſt Anglian and Northumbrian rebels, whom he would no longer govern by a ſubſtituted king, but took both countries under his own immediate adminiſtration. An.Ch.879. Chron. Sax. An.Ch.896.

Having once more re-eſtabliſhed the peace of the country by the expulſion of thoſe invaders, he reſumed the character of the legiſlator, in order to finiſh the plan of government in the execution of which he had already made ſuch conſiderable progreſs. He divided the whole kingdom into counties, the counties into hundreds, and theſe laſt into tythings, ſo denominated becauſe they conſiſted of ten freeholders, who were pledges to the king for the good behaviour of each other. Alfred divides the kingdom into counties, hundreds, and tythings.

He compiled an excellent body of laws from the ſcripture, the inſtitutions of other nations, and the collections or digeſta of his predeceſſors Ethelbert, Ina, and Offa. He was author of that ineſtimable privilege peculiar to the ſubjects of this nation, which conſiſts in their being tried by their peers; for he firſt inſtituted juries, or at leaſt improved upon an old inſtitution, by ſpecifying the number and qualifications of the jurymen, and extending their power to trials He compiles a body of laws.

An.Ch.896. of property as well as criminal indictments. He invented the expedient of giving bail and surety, in order to exempt individuals from unmerited imprisonment; he appointed public fairs and markets, to prevent the clandestine sale of stolen cattle; he abolished the civil jurisdiction of thanes or eoldermen, who acted in the double capacity of generals and judges, in their respective shires, and substituted in their room shire-reeves, who acted as deputies to these counts or eoldermen. Justices were likewise appointed; but the original extent of their power is not exactly known. And, lastly, he ordained that original writs should be granted by the proper officer, without any special petition to the king; by which form, the plaintiff was provided with the immediate means of prosecution and redress.

His precautions against rapine and murder.

But, no regulation of Alfred redounded more to his honour and the advantage of the kingdom, than the measures he took to prevent rapine, murder, and other outrages, which had so long been committed with impunity. Every tything-man was bound for the good behaviour of his own family, his neighbours, and guests; and obliged, in case of any breach of the peace, or other crime, to have the offender forthcoming, or if he fled, to purge himself of all suspicion of being an accomplice.

An.Ch.897. Every one who did not enter himself in one of these tythings, was held as an outlaw; and could not be received in any hundred or borough, without a certificate from the tything to which he belonged. One of the ten freeholders presided over the other nine, by the name of tything-man, headborough, or borsholder; and summoned them occasionally to determine small disputes in the neighbourhood.

The different councils of his kingdom.

Alfred, notwithstanding his great capacity, did not fail to consult the sages of his realm, upon every affair of importance. All his resolutions with respect to public affairs, passed through three different

ferent councils; the first of which was composed of the king's particular friends and favourites, in which every measure was prepared for the second council, consisting of the bishops, counts, viscounts, judges, and some of the principal thanes, afterwards distinguished by the name of barons. The third, was the general assembly of the nation, called in the Saxon language Wittenagemot, the members of which owed their admission to their own quality or offices, independent of the king's pleasure or appointment. An.Ch.897.

Occupied as he was in this great work of laying the foundation of the English constitution, his attention stooped even to the minutest circumstance of his people's conveniency. He introduced the art of brick-making, and built his own houses of those materials, which being much more durable, sightly, and secure from accidents, than timber, his example was followed, first, by his nobles, and afterwards by the subjects in general, who vyed with each other in expressing their reverence and affection for this illustrius monarch. He was, doubtless, an object of the most perfect esteem and admiration; for exclusive of the qualities which distinguished him as a warrior and legislator, his personal character was amiable in every respect. He had made considerable progress in the different studies of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, architecture, and geometry, was an excellent historian, and acknowledged to be the best Saxon poet of the age*. And what rendered his erudition the more valuable and surprising, was the gross ignorance His great accomplishments.

* He himself translated the Pastoral of Gregory I. Boetius de consolatione; and Bede's ecclesiastical history. His fame was so extensive, that the pope, in honour of his character, granted new privileges to the English college at Rome; and he was presented wth a number of relics by that pontiff, as well as by Abel, patriarch of Jerusalem.

of

An.Ch.897. of the times, concerning which he himſelf complained, that from the Humber to the Thames, there was not one prieſt who perfectly underſtood the divine ſervice; nor one to be found between the Thames and the ſea, capable of tranſlating the eaſieſt Latin book. In a word, he adhered to the wiſeſt maxims of government, calculated for the happineſs of his people, of whom he was at the ſame time the father and the king: his public character acquired the veneration of all his neighbours; his private life betrayed no blemiſh or imperfection; and he was certainly one of the beſt and greateſt monarchs that ever exerciſed the functions of ſovereign power. What wonder then that the Engliſh nation ſhould bitterly lament his death, which happened in the fifty-ſecond year of his age †, after a troubleſome though glorious reign, in the courſe of which he had experienced the moſt ſurpriſing viciſſitudes of fortune.

The death of Alfred.

Aſſer. Spelman. Vit. Ælfrid.

EDWARD.

An.Ch.900. His ſon Edward's title diſputed by Ethelwald,

WHEN his ſon Edward aſcended the throne, England was inhabited by almoſt an equal number of Saxons and Danes. Theſe laſt were in poſſeſſion of Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, from which the greateſt part of the Engliſh families had been expelled. The Saxons occupied all Weſſex, comprehending the country to the ſouthward of the Thames, and the ancient kingdom of Eſſex;

† By his wife Elſwitha, he had ſeveral children, ſome of which, and among theſe his eldeſt ſon Edmund, died before him. He was ſucceeded by Edward; his other ſon Ethelwald was educated at Oxford, where he made great progreſs in learning. Of his three daughters, Elflida married Ethelred, count of Mercia; Ethelwitha eſpouſed Baldwin, count of Flanders; and Ethelgitha was abbeſs of the monaſtery at Shafteſbury, founded by her father.

and

and Mercia was in a manner divided between the two nations. The Danes being no longer overawed by the ſuperior qualities of Alfred, and thinking themſelves able to cope with the Engliſh power, reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity of ſhaking off the Saxon yoke; and they were ſoon furniſhed with a plauſible pretence. Ethelwald, the eldeſt ſon of Ethelbert, whom Alfred ſucceeded, was perſuaded to claim the crown by the right of primogeniture, though contrary to the will of Ethelwulph, which he pretended to ſet aſide as illegal: but the Engliſh were ſo warmly attached to the family of Alfred, that he could find no Saxon of any conſequence, who would eſpouſe his cauſe; and therefore he had recourſe to the Danes, by whom, in all probability, he had been at firſt excited. An.Ch.900.

Having aſſembled a ſmall body of adherents, he ſurpriſed Winburn, a ſtrong place in Dorſetſhire, which, however, he was not able to maintain: for, Edward marched againſt him with ſuch expedition, that before he could provide for his defence, he was obliged to quit the town with great precipitation, and fly into Normandy, from whence he was conveyed to Northumberland, where the Danes acknowledged him as ſovereign of England; and their example was followed by their countrymen of Eaſt-Anglia. As he could not be too diligent in ſtrengthening his party againſt ſuch a formidable antagoniſt, he made another voyage into Normandy, where he was ſupplied with troops and ſhipping by the Danes who had ſettled in that country, and returned immediately in order to begin the campaign, and oppoſe the progreſs of Edward, who had by this time driven the Danes out of ſeveral ſtrong places they poſſeſſed in Mercia *. who ſurpriſes Winburn, and is ſupported by the Danes. Brompton. Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax.

Thus

* On this occaſion Elflida, the king's ſiſter, who had married Ethelred, count of Mercia, ſignalized her courage at the head of her huſband's troops.

An.Ch.900. Thus ſupported, Ethelwald raiſed a conſiderable army, and made an incurſion into the counties of Oxford, Glouceſter, and Wilts, which he ravaged without mercy, but retired before he could be overtaken by the forces of Edward, who purſued him as far as the borders of Eaſt-Anglia, and waſted all the country between the Ouſe, the north fens, and Bury; then he retreated with the main body of his troops; but the Kentiſhmen lagging behind for the ſake of plunder, were ſurpriſed near Bury by the Danes, who remained maſters of the field after a very obſtinate engagement, yet had no reaſon to boaſt of their victory, which was purchaſed with the loſs of Ethelwald, the Daniſh prince Eonric, and divers general officers: ſo that the hopes of conqueſt became every day more and more languid; and after having maintained a kind of lingering warfare for two years after, they were at length fain to ſue for peace, which Edward granted, on condition that they ſhould acknowledge his ſovereignty, and ſend back the Normans to their own country.

Ethelwald loſes his life in an engagement with the Kentiſhmen.

An.Ch.905. Chron. Sax.

Notwithſtanding this treaty, which was concluded at Ickford, in Bucks, the peace of the kingdom was inceſſantly diſturbed by the Northumbrians and Danes of Derby, Nottingham, Leiceſter, Lincoln, and Stamford, who joined their forces, and ravaged the adjacent country. At length Edward, incenſed at theſe hoſtilities, equipped a fleet, in order to infeſt their commerce and their coaſts; and they ſuppoſing that the greateſt part of his army was embarked, invaded his territories with a ſtrong body of forces, in full confidence of pillaging with impunity. But in their return they were attacked at Tetenhale, in Stafford-

The Danes defeated at Tetenhale, in Staffordſhire.

troops. Having undergone a very dangerous and difficult labour, ſhe would never after admit the embraces of her huſband; but reſigning the province of her ſex, dedicated herſelf to the exerciſe of arms, and on account of her valour was diſtinguiſhed by the name of king Ethelflida.

ſhire,

shire, by the West Saxons and Mercians, who defeated them in a pitched battle, which cost them the lives of two kings, a great number of principal officers, and many thousands of their common men; a disaster which humbled the Danes to such a degree, that for some years they remained quiet at home, without attempting any new irruption. An.Ch.911. Camden, Staffordshire.

About this period, Edward lost a faithful adherent, by the death of Ethelred, count palatine of Mercia: yet his widow Elflida assumed the reins of government, which she managed with great ability and success. She fortified all the defensible places of the country, and then marched against the Welch, whom she defeated in several engagements, and at length totally subdued. While she was employed in this expedition, her brother Edward rebuilt the town of Hertford, which had suffered greatly from the Danes; and afterwards marching into Essex, fortified a town at Witham, in order to protect his English subjects from the animosity and depredations of that barbarous people. Having taken these precautions for the security of the kingdom, he enjoyed a short pause of tranquillity, during which he devoted his attention to the propagation of the liberal arts, and erected the school of Cambridge into an university. Elflida succeeds her husband in the government of Mercia. An.Ch.915.

This calm was not of long continuance; for a body of Danish horse, from Northampton and Leicester, marching suddenly into Oxfordshire, surprised and defeated a body of Edward's forces at Hokenorton, and returned to their settlements loaded with booty. Another squadron, encouraged by their success, penetrated into Bedfordshire; but the country being by this time alarmed, they were routed and cut in pieces. These were but the preludes to a more formidable invasion of Danish freebooters from the southern parts of Brittany, commaded by Otar and Rohault; who entering the river The Danes make a descent under Otar and Rohault.

An.Ch.915. river Severne, plundered the Welch and Engliſh indiſcriminately, and took Cumeleac, biſhop of Erchenfield, priſoner, who was ranſomed by Edward for forty pounds.

who are defeated. Hitherto they had only ſent ſmall detachments on ſhore to plunder the country; at length they landed their whole force, and advanced towards Erchenfield: but their progreſs was ſtopped by the militia of Herefordſhire, Glouceſterſhire, and ſome neighbouring towns and counties, which aſſembling in arms, marched againſt the invaders, whom they routed with great ſlaughter, they loſing Rohault and An. Sax. Otar's brother, who were ſlain upon the ſpot.

An.Ch.918. The ſhattered remains of their army took poſt They retreat into Wales. in a neighbouring wood, where they were ſo cloſely beſieged by Edward's forces, that they thought proper to capitulate, and give hoſtages for leaving the kingdom within a limited time. Notwithſtanding this agreement, in conſequence of which they were permitted to embark, they afterwards ſtole aſhore from their ſhips, and divided themſelves into two bodies, one of which advanced to Wachet, in Somerſetſhire, and the other to Portlockbey, in the ſame county, with a view to plunder; but Edward had taken ſuch wiſe precautions, that they were defeated in both places, and repulſed to their ſhips, after having loſt a great number of men. Then they made an unſucceſsful attempt upon the little iſland of Shipholm, in the mouth of the Severne; and ſailing to South Wales, tranſported themſelves from thence to Ireland.

Edward having freed his country from thoſe barbarians, marched into Buckinghamſhire, and raiſed a fort on each ſide of the Ouze, to overawe the Danes who were ſettled in that neighbourhood. This expedient had ſuch a good effect, that Thurkytel, a Daniſh earl of great property in thoſe parts, and all the principal noblemen, ſubmitted to the Engliſh

Engliſh monarch; ſo that his right was recognized by all the Danes of Buckingham, Bedford, and Northampton. Yet this great advantage was ſucceeded by an event which he lamented as a very great misfortune, namely the death of his ſiſter Elfida, who, beſides her other conqueſts, had reduced Leiceſter, and part of Northumberland under his dominion. An. Ch. 919. The death of Elfida.

Having repeopled Bedford with Engliſh, and fortified Maldon, he granted free liberty to all the Danes to depart from the kingdom, if they did not chuſe to live under his adminiſtration: and Thurkytel, with all his adherents, took the advantage of this indulgence; a retreat which greatly ſtrengthened the adminiſtration of Edward, who likewiſe owed great acceſſion of power to the death of his ſiſter. That celebrated heroine had left one daughter, called Elfwinna, heireſs to the whole county of Mercia, the property of which had been veſted in her father by Alfred the Great: and as this alienation from the crown was very prejudicial to her uncle Edward, ſhe began to fear he would take the firſt opportunity of reannexing it to his domains. In this apprehenſion ſhe reſolved to ſtrengthen her poſſeſſion by a match with Reginald, chief king of the Danes in England, and actually engaged in a ſecret treaty for that purpoſe: but her uncle, being appriſed of her intention ſo detrimental to his intereſt, took poſſeſſion of the principal cities of Mercia, exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and carried the young lady into his own dominions. Thus, he became maſter of that populous country, including the city of London, which, though originally belonging to the kingdom of Eſſex, was now become the capital of Mercia. Edward reannexes Mercia to the crown, Chron. Sax.

The Danes were not the only enemies that diſturbed the repoſe of Edward. Griffith ap Madoc, Defeats Leofred and Griffith ap Madoc.

An.Ch.919. brother-in-law to the prince of Weſt-Wales, together with one Leofred, a Dane, aſſembled an army in Ireland, in order to conquer Wales. They accordingly landed in that country, and meeting with no reſiſtance, advanced as far as Cheſter, before Edward was in a condition to oppoſe their progreſs. At length, however, aſſembling his forces, he divided them into two ſeparate bodies, with one of which he marched againſt the invaders, whom he overtook at Sherwood, where a deſperate battle enſued. The leaders of both armies fought in perſon at the head of their troops; and Leofred the Dane, charging the royal ſtandard with incredible fury, the king was in great danger of being taken and ſlain; when his ſon Athelſtan, ſpringing forwards to his relief, encountered the aggreſſor, whom he wounded and took priſoner. Victory forthwith declared for the Engliſh, and a great carnage was made among the enemy. Griffith had in another diviſion been attacked, routed, and ſlain by Edward's generals: ſo that nothing was wanting to complete the fortune of the day; though the king's glory was a little ſullied by the death of the priſoner Leofred, whom he ordered to be beheaded in cold blood.

An.Ch.920. The Danes revolt, and are reduced.

In the courſe of the enſuing year, he rebuilt Wigmore in Herefordſhire, and Toceſter in Northamptonſhire, which the Danes had attempted to ſurpriſe; but being repulſed with loſs, they laid the country under contribution, and all their countrymen inhabiting the neighbourhood of Huntingdon, as well as thoſe of Eaſt-Anglia, revolted. They erected a fort at Thamesford in Bedfordſhire, from whence they made incurſions into different parts of the country, which they ravaged with their uſual barbarity. But their fortification in this place, as well as the town of Colcheſter, which they poſſeſſed, was taken by Edward, who ordered all whom he

he found in arms to be put to the ſword. This ſeverity, by which a Daniſh prince and two noblemen had loſt their lives, exaſperated the reſt of that people to ſuch a degree, that the inſurrection became general; and aſſembling a numerous army, they undertook the ſiege of Maldon, from which they were obliged to deſiſt, after having ſuſtained great damage from the ſallies of the garriſon. Diſpirited by ſuch a ſeries of diſaſters, they again threw themſelves upon the mercy of the Engliſh monarch, to whom Thurforth, together with the commander of the Daniſh forces of Southampton, ſubmitted on the terms he was pleaſed to propoſe: their example was followed by the Danes ſettled about Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Eaſt-Anglia, who promiſed in their oath of allegiance to defend his ſubjects by land and ſea. An.Ch.920, An. Sax.

While Edward was thus employed in reducing the ſouthern Danes, he ſent his ſon Athelſtan againſt thoſe who were poſſeſſed of Northumberland, where they lived independent of the Engliſh government, and cheriſhed all the rebellions which had been raiſed. In order to maintain their independency againſt the power of Edward, their two kings, Sidric and Reinal, ſuppreſſed their private animoſities, and engaged in a league with Conſtantine king of Scotland, who ſent a body of forces to their aſſiſtance, under the command of his ſon Malcolm. Theſe joining the Danes, attacked Athelſtan, by whom they were defeated with great ſlaughter. And after this victory the Northumbrians ſued for peace: the Cumbrian and Strathcluyd Britons ſubmitted to the empire of Edward; and the king of Scots, who poſſeſſed part of the ancient Northumbrian territories, conſented to hold thoſe dominions in vaſſalage of the crown of England. Athelſtan obtains a victory over the Danes and Scots in Northumberland. An.Ch.922. Milton. Tyrrel.

Edward now ſaw himſelf at the higheſt pinnacle of power and glory; feared by his enemies, who

An.Ch.922. had submitted to his sway, respected by his neighbours, and beloved by his own subjects with the most warm affection. After he had reduced the whole kingdom of England and principality of Wales to his obedience, he exerted all his endeavours to promote the equal distribution of justice, and the people enjoyed the happy fruits of his mild and equitable administration, until death put an end to his authority, in the twenty-fifth year of
An.Ch.925. his reign.

ATHELSTAN.

Edward is succeeded by Athelstan.

EDWARD was succeeded in his throne by his eldest son Athelstan, a prince every way qualified for wielding the sceptre of a great empire: he had been knighted by his grandfather * Alfred in his infancy, and being educated under the eye

* Brompton tells us, that Athelstan was the son of a concubine called Egwina, the daughter of a shepherd, who having, in her infancy, dreamed that the moon shone out of her belly so as to illuminate all England, was educated in a genteel manner at the expence of a matron who had given suck to Edward. The young maiden became remarkable for her beauty and other accomplishments; and one day, when the king visited his nurse, he chanced to cast his eyes upon Egwina, and was so captivated by her charms, that he would not leave the house, until he had obtained her consent to gratify his passion. Athelstan was the fruit of this armour, as well as a second son called Alfred, and a daughter named Editha. Though this story is credited by William of Malmesbury and others, it is more likely that Egwina, though of humble parentage, was really the wife of Edward; forasmuch as we find Alfred the Great honouring Athelstan with the order of knighthood, as his own presumptive heir; which surely would not have been the case had he been a bastard. Be that as it will, Edward had two other wives, namely Elfleda, daughter of earl Elfhelm, by whom he had Ethelwald, who died immediately before his father, and Edwin; and Edgiva, by whom he had Edmund and Edred, who afterwards reigned, and two daughters, the eldest of whom was a nun, and the other married to Lewis, prince of Guienne. His second wife, besides the sons we have mentioned, bore to him six daughters, two of whom lived in celibacy, and the other four were married to Charles the Simple, Hugh Capet, kings of France, the emperor Otho, and a duke whose territories lay near the Alps. Hist. Major. Winton. 63.

of

of his aunt Elflida, his own diſpoſition, which was naturally good, received the moſt virtuous education. He had ſignalized his courage and conduct during his father's life, and aſſiſted at all the councils for a conſiderable time before he mounted the throne; ſo that he was already an experienced prince, when he began his reign in the thirtieth year of his age, and was crowned at Kingſton upon Thames. An. Ch. 925. G. Malmeſ.

His election, however, gave umbrage to a few noblemen, who perhaps had ſome ſcruples about his legitimacy; and they engaged in a conſpiracy to remove him from the throne, in favour of his brother Edwin. Athelſtan being appriſed of their deſign, immediately apprehended the chief conſpirator, whoſe name was Alfred; but, the proof being defective, he was ſent to Rome to purge himſelf by oath, in preſence of the pope: he accordingly took the oath at the altar, but was immediately ſeized with a violent fit, in which he expired; and this the pontiff conſidered as a judgment of God for his perjury. He therefore, in his letter to Athelſtan, concluded that the deceaſed was certainly guilty; and deſired to know, whether or not he would allow him chriſtian burial. Athelſtan, very well pleaſed to find himſelf rid of ſuch a dangerous ſubject, conſented to his being interred with the uſual ceremony, and in the mean time confiſcated his eſtate, which he beſtowed upon the monaſtery of Malmeſbury, and ordered the particulars of the affair to be inſerted in the charter. A conſpiracy formed by one Alfred. G. Malmeſ.

This diſturbance was no ſooner quelled, than commotions aroſe in another quarter. As the Daniſh inhabitants of England had been ſubjected by force, they reſolved to aſſert their independency with the firſt favourable occaſion; and looking upon this as a proper conjuncture, while Athelſtan was hardly eſtabliſhed on the throne, and diſcontent prevailed among the nobles, they took the An inſurrection of the Danes in the North.

An.Ch.925. Sim. Dun. field, under their kings Sithric and Inguald, who surprised York and Davenport. Athelstan was no sooner informed of this insurrection, than he began his march towards their country, in which he arrived with such expedition, that Sithric, having made no preparations for the reception of such a powerful antagonist, sued for peace, which was granted, on condition that he should embrace the Sim. Dun. christian religion. Wishing to attach this prince to his interest, that his reign might not be disturbed by the continual incursions of the Danes, like that of his father, he not only pardoned his revolt, but gave him his sister Editha in marriage, though he was then a man in years, and had two sons full grown by a former wife. Sithric survived his nuptials but a few months; and his eldest son Guthred, disdaining to hold a precarious sceptre, dependent upon the will of Athelstan, seized almost all the forts of the kingdom, and prohibited his subjects from paying the tribute to the English monarch.

Athelstan reduces Northumberland. Athelstan, alarmed at this rebellion, assembled his troops, and entered Northumberland so suddenly, that Guthred with his brother Anlaf, and Inguald king of York, had scarcely time to secure their persons by a precipitate flight; so that the English king made himself master of the whole country without opposition, except the castle of York, which he could not immediately reduce. He did not however enjoy his conquest in tranquillity, while he had reason to believe the three fugitive princes had any chance of returning to excite fresh troubles in Northumberland. The fate of Inguald is not known; but Anlaf escaped into Ireland, and Guthred fled for protection to Constantine, king of Scotland. Athelstan immediately sent deputies to this prince, desiring he would deliver the person of Guthred into his hands; otherwise he would go in quest of him at the head of an army.

army. Conſtantine, piqued at this inſolent meſ- An.Ch.925.
ſage, yet afraid of incurring the diſpleaſure of ſuch a warlike monarch, agreed to meet Athelſtan at Daker, for which place he accordingly ſet out, accompanied by Owen, king of Cumberland; but, in the mean time, gave Guthred an opportunity to withdraw from his court.

Athelſtan admitted the excuſes of the Scottiſh king, though not a little concerned at the eſcape of the Dane, who made an unſucceſsful attempt on the city of York, aud then turned pyrate on the high ſeas, till at length being weary of ſuch a boiſterous and infamouſly precarious life, he ſurrendered himſelf to the Engliſh king, who allowed him a penſion for his ſubſiſtence. This he enjoyed for ſome time: but at laſt conceiving ſome diſguſt, he made his eſcape from the place of his reſidence, and was never heard of afterwards. Athelſtan, at this conference of the two kings, is ſaid to have exacted homage from them both; and notwithſtanding all the allegations of the Scottiſh writers, who ſo vehemently deny this act of ſubmiſſion, in all probability it was impoſed upon Conſtantine, who ſeems to have retained an implacable reſentment againſt the Engliſh monarch from this period. Be that as it may, ſuch homage, extorted from a weak prince, by fear and compulſion, can never affect the independency and freedom of the nation.

Conſtantine returned to his own country, very much chagrined at the behaviour of Athelſtan; while Anlaf informed of his diſcontent, repaired to his court from Ireland, and artfully inflamed his reſentment and ambition, by inveighing againſt the inſolence and dangerous power of the Engliſh king, and repreſenting the practicability of conquering Northumberland, by means of the ſuc-

An. Ch. 925. cours he ſhould be able to bring from Ireland. The Scottiſh prince eagerly embraced his propoſal, for the execution of which they began to make preparations without delay; and in the mean time prevailed upon Howel king of Wales to make a diverſion in their favour. Athelſtan, who had returned to Weſſex, broke their meaſures by his diligence and activity; for ſo ſoon as he received intelligence of a commotion in Wales, he began his march for that country, and obtained a complete victory over Howel, whom he puniſhed for his revolt, by augmenting the tribute which he annually paid to England.

Athelſtan defeats the Welſh.

Humbles Conſtantine, king of Scotland.

This war being happily terminated, he advanced into Scotland, in order to take vengeance upon Conſtantine, for having ſent a body of auxiliaries to Howel. As Anlaf had not yet arrived with his reinforcement from Ireland, the Scottiſh king was in no condition to oppoſe the Engliſh army, which drove him from one end of the kingdom to the other; and at laſt compelled him to deprecate the wrath of Athelſtan with great humility. He obtained his requeſt from the Engliſh monarch, who at the ſame time reſtored all the places he had taken in that kingdom, hoping, by this act of generoſity, to conciliate the affection of Conſtantine, and detach him from the intereſt of the Danes. But all this indulgence ſeemed rather to inflame than mitigate the rancour of Conſtantine, who became more and more impatient to revenge this mortification, which his pride ſuſtained from the triumph of Athelſtan's generoſity: that prince was no ſooner returned to his own dominions, than he renewed his deliberations with Anlaf; and theſe confederates exerted all their induſtry and power, in order to aſſemble an army of ſufficient ſtrength to invade the kingdom of Northumberland.

Florent. Sim. Dun.

Mean while, Athelſtan began to be diſquieted by jealous thoughts, ariſing from the popularity of his brother Edwin, who was accuſed by a certain nobleman of having been concerned in the conſpiracy of Alfred. This charge had the greater appearance of truth, as Alfred's rebellion had been raiſed on pretence of ſetting Edwin upon the throne; and, in all probability, Athelſtan was not very ſorry to find a pretext for deſtroying ſuch a dangerous competitor in the affection of the public. Though the unhappy youth proteſted, with all the appearance of truth and candour, that he was entirely innocent of the crime laid to his charge, he was convicted on the teſtimony of this corrupted evidence; and Athelſtan, being afraid to take away his life by a public execution, ordered this unfortunate young prince to be turned adrift with one ſervant, in a crazy veſſel deſtitute of ſails, oars, and proviſion. Edwin finding himſelf thus expoſed to the dangers of the deep and horrors of famine, leaped overboard into the ſea, in which all his miſery was extinguiſhed with his life, while his attendant reſolved to depend upon providence, and ſaw himſelf with his boat caſt aſhore by the billows on the coaſt of France. This cruel ſentence was no ſooner executed than the king repented of what he had done: his jealous fears being now removed, he reviewed the character of Edwin in the light of an amiable brother, and deteſted the wretch on whoſe evidence that young prince had been expoſed to the moſt terrible death. This perfidious nobleman one day ſtumbled in preſenting the cup to Athelſtan, but recovering a firm footing, by means of his other leg, "See, ſaid he, how one brother "aſſiſts another." This remark was conſtrued into raillery or reproach by Athelſtan, who forthwith ordered him to be put to death, as a ſacrifice to the manes of Edwin; and endeavoured to ex-

An. Ch. 934. The deplorable fate of Edwin.

An.Ch.934. piate his own guilt by ſevere penance and benefactions to the church *.

Athelſtan's ſiſter married to Hugh, king of France.

His chagrin, however, was ſoon alleviated by the reſpect of his ſubjects, and the extenſion of his fame into foreign nations; he received a very ſplendid embaſſy in the perſon of Anwulf earl of Flanders, ſent by Hugh king of France with valuable preſents to Athelſtan, of whom he demanded his ſiſter Edilda in marriage. He gave audience at Abingdon, in a public convention of the ſtates, when the propoſal was embraced, and the ambaſſador treated with the utmoſt magnificence †.

Athelſtan obtains a complete victory at Bruneford, over Conſtantine and Anlaf.

During theſe tranſactions at the Engliſh court, Conſtantine and Anlaf were buſily employed in making preparations for the execution of their project; they formed a confederacy with the Iriſh, Welſh, and Northumbrian Danes, and conducted their motions with ſuch ſecrecy that Anlaf had entered the Humber with a fleet of ſix hundred ſail, and overſpread the whole country, before Athelſtan received the leaſt intimation of his deſign. But, the fortreſs, garriſoned with Engliſh troops, retarded the progreſs of the confederates, until he could aſſemble his army, at the head of which he marched againſt them with incredible diſpatch. They had directed their route to the northward, in order to conquer Bernicia for the Scottiſh king; but underſtanding that Athelſtan was on his march to attack them, they reſolved to ſpare him part of the trouble, by meeting him on the way, and the

* He did ſeven years penance, and built the monaſteries of Middleton and Michelneſs, in the county of Dorſet, ordering continual maſſes to be ſaid for his own pardon, and the repoſe of his brother's ſoul.

† The preſents made on this occaſion, conſiſted of a curious veſſel of onyx, a golden crown adorned with diamonds, the ſword of Conſtantine the Great, in the hilt of which was one of the nails with which Chriſt was fixed to the croſs, the lance of Charlemagne, and ſome venerable relics.

two

two armies came in ſight of each other at a place called Bruneford. A battle, however, did not immediately enſue, becauſe both armies were ſo formidable and ſo advantageouſly poſted, that neither choſe to hazard an attack, until the inattention or miſconduct of either ſide ſhould afford an opportunity. During this pauſe, Anlaf is ſaid to have entered the Engliſh camp as a muſician, and played ſo raviſhingly as to attract the notice of Athelſtan, who ordered him to perform in the royal tent, and rewarded him with a liberal preſent. In his retreat he was known by a common ſoldier, who allowed him to paſs, and then informed the king of the diſcovery he had made. Athelſtan chid him for allowing him to retire, but applauded the man's fidelity, when he told him he had once taken the oath of allegiance to that prince, and therefore would never be concerned in any particular attempt againſt his perſon. The king ſhifted his quarters that very day, and the ſame ſpot of ground was occupied by a biſhop newly come to the camp, who loſt his life in conſequence of chooſing that ſituation; for, in the middle of the night, Anlaf at the head of a choſen band, attacked the Engliſh encampment, and penetrating to this place, ſlew the prelate and all his attendants. Athelſtan, whoſe tent was removed at the diſtance of a mile from this ſcene of blood, taking the alarm, drew up his forces in order of battle, and at day-break the two armies were fairly engaged. They fought all day with equal bravery on both ſides; till at length the chancellor Turkeytul, at the head of a ſelect band of Londoners, bore down all before him, and unhorſed the Scottiſh king, who was wounded and taken priſoner. The fate of this prince was no ſooner made known to the reſt of the confederates, than they gave way, and a terrible ſlaughter enſued. Beſides Conſtantine, who died of his wounds,

An.Ch.934.

Ingulph.

An.Ch.938.

An.Ch.938. wounds, six kings of Ireland and Wales, and twice that number of counts and generals, lost their lives in this engagement; so that Athelstan, after this victory met with no opposition in reducing the Scots, the Danes of Northumberland, and the G. Malmes. Welsh, whose tribute was again augmented. After he had settled the affairs of the North, he marched against the Britons of Cornwall, who had sent auxiliaries to the confederates, repaired and garrisoned Exeter, and compelled the Britons to retire beyond the river Tamur, which from that period served as a boundary between the two nations; at the same time he in person took possession of the islands of Scilly.

His civil administration. Athelstan was not more formidable in war than consummate in the arts of policy and peace. He added new laws to those which had been published by his grandfather Alfred; took the most effectual measures for securing the tranquillity of his country, both by fortifying it against the attempts of foreign enemies, and preventing domestic disturbances, by An.Ch.941. a gentle sway and equal administration of justice. He employed learned men to finish a translation of the Bible into the Saxon language; and notwithstanding his piety and beneficence to the church, it appears from some fragments of his laws still extant, that his intention was to reduce the clergy, as well as the rest of his subjects under his dominion, by abolishing those exemptions and sanctuaries which served only to increase their insolence, and enable them to protect the worst of criminals. That he was highly respected by foreign powers, appears from the great matches he procured for his sisters, one of whom, the widow of Charles the Simple, found a happy retreat in his dominions with her son, who was afterwards distinguished by the name of Outre Mer or Ultra Marine, from his having been educated at the English court.

Athelstan,

Athelſtan, after the reduction of the Scots, Danes, and Britons, and the retreat of Anlaf, who returned to Ireland, enjoyed ſome years of reſpite from the turmoils of war; and dying without iſſue in the ſixteenth year of his reign, was ſucceeded by his brother Edmund, who aſcended the throne with the unanimous conſent of the whole nation. An. Ch. 942. Dies. An. Sax.

EDMUND I.

ALthough the Danes were ſubdued, they were not yet reconciled to the Engliſh yoke, from which they reſolved to free themſelves with the firſt convenient opportunity. They conſidered the acceſſion of young Edmund as a favourable conjuncture, and Anlaf did not fail to improve this diſpoſition, with a view to acquire the crown of Northumberland: but, conſcious of the importance of ſuch an enterprize to be undertaken againſt the whole power of England, he had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of Olaus, king of Norway, who ſupplied him with ſhips and men, with which he invaded Northumberland, and was admitted into York, by means of a correſpondence which he had carried on with the principal inhabitants. The example of the capital was followed by a great many other places, the Engliſh garriſons were expelled and maſſacred, and the whole country received him as its ſovereign. Not contented with the poſſeſſion of Northumberland, he advanced into Mercia, where his reception was alike favourable, and his countrymen in that kingdom aſſiſted him in re-taking ſome places, which had been wreſted from them by Edward. The Northumbrian Danes revolt againſt Edmund.

Edmund, though ſcarce turned of eighteen, far from being diſpirited by the rapidity of Anlaf's progreſs,

An. Ch. 942. progreſs, aſſembled his troops, and advanced againſt the enemy, whom he found at Weſt-cheſter, where an obſtinate battle was fought with equal fury on both ſides, until night parted the combatants; and the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York interpoſing their good offices, an accommodation was effected, on condition that Anlaf ſhould poſſeſs all the country lying to the north of Watling-ſtreet, which divides England from North-Wales, to the ſouthern extremity of Kent. From this ceſſion one would be apt to imagine that Edmund had been worſted in the battle; and that he conſented to this treaty with no other view than that of gaining time, until he ſhould be in a condition to make himſelf amends, for the damage he had ſuſtained.

The battle of Weſt-cheſter, after which there is a partition of the kingdom.

Hunting.

Anlaf was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in peaceable poſſeſſion of Northumberland, than he laid ſevere taxes upon his ſubjects, in order to diſcharge the debts which he had contracted with the king of Norway, by whoſe aſſiſtance he had acquired the crown; and by theſe impoſitions he loſt the affection of his ſubjects. The inhabitants of Deira revolting, ſet up Reginald, the ſon of his brother Guthred, who being crowned in York began to make preparations of war againſt his uncle; ſo that the kingdom was immediately divided into two factions, breathing againſt each other defiance and deſtruction.

Edmund ſubdues Northumberland, and gives Cumberland to the prince of Scotland.

Edmund, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity for retrieving the dominions he had ceded, began his march towards the North, and arrived upon the frontiers of Northumberland before the two kings had the leaſt intimation of his approach. Thus ſurpriſed, before they were in a poſture of defence, they were obliged to abandon the iſland, and Edmund made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom without reſiſtance. Then he advanced againſt

An. Sax. M Weſtm.

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the king of * Cumberland, who had acted as auxiliary to the Daniſh princes; and depriving him of his dominions, made a preſent of them as a fief depending on the crown of England, to Malcolm prince of Scotland, whom he thus attached to his intereſt. The homage which the Scottiſh kings in the ſequel payed to the Engliſh monarch for theſe territories, was in all probability the foundation of the Engliſh claim to the ſovereignty of all Scotland; though, by the ſame way of reaſoning, the kings of England were afterwards vaſſals of France, becauſe they did homage to the French king for the dutchy of Normandy. An.Ch.944.

Edmund's attention was not intirely engroſſed by the operations of war. He likewiſe employed his ſtudy to improve the civil policy of his kingdom; and the laws which he enacted evidently prove how much he had the happineſs of his ſubjects at heart. Obſerving that pecuniary mulcts were inſufficient penalties for reſtraining thieves and robbers, who have generally very little to loſe, he ordained that the eldeſt member of the gang ſhould be hanged upon conviction; for theft had never before been puniſhed with death in England. The kingdom would in all probability have flouriſhed in every branch of culture under a prince of ſuch excellent talents, had not he been cut off in the flower of his age by a very unfortunate and extraordinary accident. While he ſat at table with his nobles, celebrating the feaſt of Auguſtin, at Pukelkirk in Glouceſterſhire, he eſpied among the croud a notorious felon called Leof, whom he had baniſhed for theft and rapine: he immediately commanded his ſewer to ſeize the preſumptuous thief, who had The untimely death of Edmund. Brompton.

* This kingdom of the Cumbrians extended from the wall of Severus, as far as Dunbritton in the weſtern part of Scotland, and comprehended Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham.

thus

An.Ch.944. thus intruded himſelf even into the royal preſence; but perceiving that this officer was not able to manage the delinquent, he himſelf ſtarted from table, and pulled him to the ground by the hair of the head. Leof, knowing that an ignominious death awaited him, drew forth a dagger which was concealed under his cloaths; and while the king lay upon him, ſheathed it in the boſom of his prince, who immediately expired. The death of the murderer, whom the noblemen immediately hewed in pieces, was but a poor attonement for the loſs of ſuch a valuable king thus cut off in the flower of his youth, after he had reigned about ſix years, An.Ch.948. during which he had given ſuch ſpecimens of his extraordinary courage, ability, and regard for the An. Sax. welfare of his ſubjects.

EDRED.

The Danes of Northumberland chooſe Anlaf for their king.

THE two ſons of Edmund by his wife Elgiva, being infants, his brother Edred aſcended the throne with the unanimous ſuffrages of the nobility and clergy; and immediately after his elevation he marched into Northumberland, to quell the commotions which his brother's death had excited among the Danes of that province, who were ſtill watching an opportunity of withdrawing themſelves Hunting. from the Engliſh government. As they found Edred in their country before they had taken any effectual meaſures to maintain their independency, they were obliged to ſubmit to the terms which he was pleaſed to propoſe; and their example was followed by Malcolm king of Scotland, whom they had engaged to aſſiſt them in their revolt. He had no ſooner returned to his own dominions after this expedition, than the Danes, ever impatient of the Saxon yoke, reſolved to make another attempt to retrieve their liberty; and recalled Anlaf from Ireland

ſreland with ſuch ſecrecy and diligence, that this prince had reduced the moſt conſiderable places in Northumberland, before Edred could aſſemble his troops to oppoſe his progreſs. Indeed Anlaf made ſuch good uſe of his time, that he was too firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne of Northumberland, to be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs; and therefore Edred left him for the preſent in quiet poſſeſſion of his conqueſt. But, his own tyrannical diſpoſition produced ſuch diſcontent among his ſubjects, and excited ſuch a powerful faction againſt him, that he was fain to relinquiſh his throne, which they filled with a nobleman called Eric. Nevertheleſs one party ſtill continuing attached to the exiled Anlaf, the kingdom, as uſual, was divided into deſperate factions, and Edred took this opportunity to reduce it under his power: with this view he marched into Northumberland, which he found in anarchy and confuſion; and at his approach Eric fled for refuge into Scotland. An.Ch.952.

The Danes finding themſelves thus deſerted by their prince, and deſtitute of all means of oppoſition, implored the clemency of Edred with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion and ſolemn vows of future fidelity. Theſe he credited, and even reſtored their king Eric to the throne, on certain reſtrictions; and having as he thought appeaſed the troubles of Northumberland to the intire ſatisfaction of the people, he ſet out from York on his return to Weſſex, marching without much circumſpection, among a people whom his generoſity had laid under ſuch obligations. But the ungrateful Danes perceiving the negligence and diſorder in which the Engliſh proceeded, aſſembled and armed themſelves in private; then fell upon Edred's rear ſo ſuddenly, that nothing but his own perſonal valour and conduct could have ſaved his whole army from being cut in pieces. Incenſed at ſuch

Edred reduces their kingdom to a province.

An.Ch.954. such a flagrant proof of their perfidy and ingratitude, he marched back into the heart of their country, which he reſolved to deſtroy with fire and ſword; and their ruin would have been inevitable, had they attempted to act in their own defence. But, in this extremity, they once more humbled themſelves before the conqueror, laying the blame of what had happened upon Eric, whom they put to death as a victim offered to the indignation of Edred, who being appeaſed by theſe ſubmiſſions and apologies, enforced with a round ſum of money, forgave them the treachery they had practiſed againſt him, though he reduced their kingdom to a province, which he ſecured with ſtrong garriſons, and left under the direction of an Engliſh governor.

Hoveden. Sim. Dun.

The great influence of Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſton.

Theſe tumults were ſucceeded by a profound calm, during which Edred's ſuperſtition took the lead of his other paſſions, and manifeſted itſelf in an implicit obedience which he payed to Dunſtan abbot of Glaſton, who not only acted as his ghoſtly director, and in that quality gave him corporeal diſcipline with his own hand, but alſo acquired ſuch influence over him in temporal affairs, that nothing either in church or ſtate was executed without his advice and concurrence. It was by his counſel that almoſt all the benefices of the kingdom were beſtowed upon monks, and the ſecular clergy totally neglected and ſet aſide. Though this partiality raiſed up a number of enemies againſt him, which was not diminiſhed by the pride and inſolence of his behaviour, it ſecured the whole body of monks in his intereſt, and that indefatigable race took all opportunities of ſounding his praiſe, and repreſenting him as a prophet and apoſtle. Theſe encomiums repeated on all occaſions made an impreſſion on the minds of the ignorant vulgar, and he was in a fair way of acquiring an abſolute authority both in church and ſtate,

when he was checked in the middle of his career by the death of the king, who died of a quincy in the tenth year of his reign. Feeling his end approaching, he ſent for Dunſtan, who happened to be abſent, in order to ſettle his ſpiritual affairs, as well as ſome temporal concerns unknown to every body but the abbot, who, conſcious of having in his hands certain large ſums, for which he had not yet accounted, protracted the time on various pretences, until the king had expired, and then appropriated the money to his own uſe: an acquiſition which enabled him to live with great ſplendour and magnificence. An.Ch.954. Sim. Dunelm.

Thus died Edred, who degenerated from the virtues of his predeceſſors in nothing but his blind attachment to this inſolent and rapacious abbot. He was the firſt of all the Saxon monarchs who aſſumed the title of King of Great-Britain; a circumſtance that favours the opinions of thoſe who affirm that the king of Scotland held his crown as a fief depending upon England. Though he had two ſons called Bertfred and Elfred, who were of age at his death, he was ſucceeded by his nephew Edwy, ſon of Edmund, who was elected monarch by the ſuffrages of the nobility and clergy. This elective power was in all probability a privilege which they retained when they firſt ſubmitted to monarchical government; and a very wiſe precaution to prevent the miſchiefs that attend the adminiſtration of an infant king. An.Ch.955.

EDWY.

EDWY, who aſcended the throne at the age of fourteen, was a prince of great perſonal beauty, and a very amiable diſpoſition; but, he looked upon Dunſtan in a very different light from Edwy aſcends the throne, and is inſulted by Dunſtan.

An. Ch. 955. that in which he had been conſidered by his predeceſſor. On the very day of his coronation, he conceived a diſguſt at that officious abbot, for an affront which a young prince could not eaſily forgive. Edwy having withdrawn from the tireſome ceremony of the day, to enjoy the converſation of a young lady called Athelgiva, of whoſe beauty and rare accompliſhments he was deeply enamoured; Dunſtan no ſooner perceived his abſence, than he ruſhed furiouſly into the apartment to which he had retired, and dragged him forth in the moſt outrageous manner, after having rebuked him for his effeminacy with all the bitterneſs of eccleſiaſtical rancour. Such an unmannerly and unſeaſonable inſult could not fail to inſpire the young monarch with reſentment; and the nobles, who were ſcandalized at the overbearing pride and profuſion of the abbot, improved this diſpoſition by inveighing againſt his avarice and preſumption, and inſinuating that he had embezzled the treaſure belonging to the late king, which he now ſquandered away in purchaſing a dangerous popularity. In conſequence of theſe remonſtrances, the king demanded reſtitution of the ſums which Edred had committed to his charge; and Dunſtan replied they had been expended in pious uſes, according to the king's direction. As the council did not think proper to urge him farther in this affair, they reſolved to reverſe and annul every ſtep he had taken in favour of the monks, and immediately deprived them of all the benefices they poſſeſſed, filling their places with the ſecular clergy.

Dunſtan goes into exile.

This ſtep not only mortified Dunſtan exceedingly, as it leſſened his credit among the people; but excited ſuch a clamour among the monks, as might have been expected during the moſt ſevere perſecution that ever raged againſt the chriſtian religion. Among thoſe that exclaimed the loud-

eſt

eſt againſt this innovation, were the friars of Malmeſbury; and in conſequence of the noiſe they made, the king expelled them from the monaſtery, which was filled with ſecular prieſts. Dunſtan, conſcious to himſelf of having produced this diſturbance, quitted the kingdom, and retired to a monaſtery in Flanders, to wait for ſome favourable change that might enable him to return with ſafety. An. Ch. 955. Hunting. G. Malmeſb.

The exile of this reputed ſaint, added to the ſufferings of the monks, were hollowed in the ears of the people, as ſuch flagrant inſtances of the king's impiety, that all the eccleſiaſtical part of the kingdom eſpouſed the cauſe of their apoſtle and his brethren; and Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was ſo far tranſported with the ſpirit of fanaticiſm, that he pronounced a formal divorce between Edwy and Athelgiva, that he might wound the king in the moſt tender part. Eccleſiaſtical cenſures were of ſuch conſequence in thoſe days, that the king could no longer, with any regard to his own ſafety, maintain his amorous correſpondence, but was obliged to ſurrender his miſtreſs to the penance of the church; and that unrelenting prelate ordered her to be branded in the face, and then exiled to Ireland. The inſolence of Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Not contented with having taken ſuch unmanly vengeance, this turbulent biſhop, and the other adherents of Dunſtan and his monks, firſt created malecontents by the moſt ſcandalous calumnies invented againſt Edwy, and then inſtigated them to open rebellion, under the pretence of dethroning ſuch an unworthy king, and transferring the crown to his brother Edgar, who being an ambitious prince, of very inſinuating qualifications, willingly lent his name, intereſt, and perſonal activity, towards the ſucceſs of this enterprize. Having put himſelf at the head of the rebels, and Edgar rebels againſt the king his brother;

An.Ch.955. ſecured the greateſt part of Mercia in his intereſt, he repaired to Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, where he found the Danes very well diſpoſed to concur in any ſcheme for involving the Engliſh in civil troubles and confuſion.

An.Ch.957.

whom he deprives of great part of his dominions.

Thus ſtrengthened, his faction became ſo powerful, that in a little time Edwy found himſelf abandoned by all his ſubjects, except the Weſt-Saxons, and being unable to quell the rebellion, he retired for ſhelter to the city of Glouceſter; while the ſtates of Mercia aſſembling, deprived him in a formal manner of the ſovereign power, and elected Edgar king of that realm, comprehending all the country to the northward of the Thames, except the ancient kingdom of Eſſex. As the monks had been principally concerned in this election, they did not fail to give it the ſanction of a miracle, which conſiſted in a voice from heaven, commanding the aſſembled nobles to beſtow the crown upon Edgar. After the ceremony of his coronation, a treaty was ſet on foot with his brother Edwy, who yielding to the torrent of misfortune, conſented to a partition, which deprived him of the beſt part of his dominions; but the mortification of ſeeing himſelf thus ſtripped of his territories, and the monks triumphing in his diſgrace, threw him into a deep melancholy, which conducted him to the grave, after he had ſurvived or rather lingered out a painful exiſtence, two years beyond the æra of his misfortune.

Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. An.Ch.959.

Edgar had no ſooner mounted the throne of Mercia, than Dunſtan returned to England, and recovered, at the court of this prince, all the influence he had poſſeſſed in the preceding reign. He was immediately promoted to the ſee of Worceſter, and his ſuppoſed ſanctity ſhining out with double ſplendor, after the eclipſe it had undergone, the king affected to be entirely guided by his directions.

EDGAR.

EDWY dying without iſſue, the whole kingdom was reunited under Edgar, who, though in the prime of his youth, had already given undeniable proofs of a ſhining genius, and the moſt ſolid underſtanding. He had manifeſted his ability in making himſelf maſter of his brother's dominions, and he afterwards demonſtrated the extenſiveneſs of his capacity, by keeping his ſubjects in ſubmiſſion and his enemies in fear, without ſtraining the regal authority, or engaging in any martial enterprize. But, he awed his neighbours by taking ſuch meaſures for the defence of his kingdom, as diſabled them from invading it with any proſpect of ſucceſs. He divided Northumberland into two governments, and conſtantly maintained a ſtrong body of forces in the northern provinces, that they might be at hand to quell any inſurrection that ſhould happen among that turbulent people: and in order to ſecure his dominions from the deſcents of foreign Danes, he equipped a very ſtrong fleet, amounting to three thouſand five hundred veſſels, divided into different ſquadrons, and ſtationed in ſuch a manner that they were continually cruiſing round the iſland, which was thus effectually covered from inſult. Such wiſe precautions could not fail to eſtabliſh peace and tranquillity among his people, which in order to fix beyond any poſſibility of interruption, he engaged Kenneth, king of Scotland, in his intereſt, by ceding to him the whole country of Lothian, extending from the Tweed to the Forth; for which, and the northern counties already beſtowed upon Malcolm, that prince certainly did homage. It was in all probability owing to this ceſſion and treaty, which

An. Ch. 959. Edgar ſucceeds to the whole kingdom; his admirable regulations.

Flo. Wig. G. Malm. Mat. Weſt.

An.Ch.959. ſecured the Scottiſh king as an ally, that Maccuſe, king of Man and the iſles, ſome toparchs of Galloway, and the princes of Wales, ſubmitted ſo peaceably to the government of Edgar. Theſe were the princes who viſited the court at Cheſter, and rowed his barge down the river Dee, while he himſelf ſat at the helm: a circumſtance which ſome hiſtorians have conſidered as an act of homage, whereas it appears to have been no more than a compliment or frolic, acted in an excurſion of pleaſure, that could admit of no ſerious conſideration or conſequence.

Notwithſtanding all his vigilance and care in maintaining the peace of his ſubjects, it was ſtill interrupted by two domeſtic evils, namely, an infinite number of wolves that came down from the mountains of Wales, deſtroying the ſheep and alarming the neighbourhood; and corrupt civil magiſtrates, who oppreſſed the people by a partial diſtribution of juſtice. In order to free the country from the firſt of theſe plagues, Edgar changed the tribute of the Welch into three hundred wolves heads, to be yearly payed in lieu of money and cattle; and publiſhed a general amneſty for all crimes committed before a certain time, provided the criminals would produce an appointed number of wolves tongues, according to the nature of the crimes they had committed: an expedient ſo effectual, that in three years the ſpecies of that animal was utterly deſtroyed in England. With reſpect to the magiſtracy, as it was a matter of far greater importance, he enacted a law, by which every magiſtrate convicted of having pronounced an unjuſt deciſion, was mulcted in a ſum of money, if it proceeded from ignorance; but if a wilful abuſe, he was rendered incapable of holding that or any other office in the kingdom. And the king himſelf made a yearly circuit through the different parts of his domi-

He extirpates the wolves.

dominions to redreſs the injured, and take cogni- An.Ch.959.
zance of the guilty.

The great qualities of Edgar were certainly commendable; but in all probability his praiſes would not have been ſo loudly ſounded, had not the monks found in him a zealous patron and munificent benefactor. He is ſaid to have founded forty monaſteries, and to have repaired and embelliſhed a much greater number, which he endowed, not ſo properly with liberality as profuſion, alienating the crown-lands for the ſupport of thoſe idle and pernicious drones.

All theſe benefactions were ſuggeſted by Dunſtan, who not only enjoyed the ſee of Worceſter, but was alſo made adminiſtrator of the vacant biſhopric of London. He had, by this time, acquired ſuch reputation among the people for his ſanctity and miracles, which the monks did not fail to atteſt and exaggerate, and gained ſuch an aſcendancy over the mind of Edgar, that he reigned abſolute maſter in military, civil, and eccleſiaſtical affairs. Brethelm, biſhop of Bath, a very worthy and pious prelate, but no favourer of the Monks, being elected to the ſee of Canterbury, at the death of archbiſhop Elfin, the king reſolved to procure that dignity for his favourite, and aſſembled a general council, in which he harangued againſt the inability of Brethelm, and recommended Dunſtan ſo warmly, that the former was ſent back to his original dioceſe, and the other elevated to the archbiſhopric of Canterbury. As this election was not altogether canonical, it was found neceſſary to demand the pope's confirmation, and Dunſtan immediately ſet out for Rome, on pretence of receiving the pall. The pope, who was well informed of his great credit at court, and his zeal for the intereſt of the Roman church, not only confirmed his election, but alſo created him his legate in England, with

Dunſtan elected to the ſee of Canterbury.

An.Ch.959. a very extenſive authority. He then returned in triumph, and promoted his relation Oſwald to the ſee of Worceſter, and that of Wincheſter was given to Ethelwald, his intimate friend: ſo that this triumvirate acting in concert, governed the king and the whole church of England. Dunſtan being now too firmly rooted in his power to dread the efforts of his enemies, reſolved to execute the grand project he had formed in favour of the monks.

Sim. Dun. Ingulph.

The monks are reſtored to the benefices and monaſteries.

Theſe induſtrious emiſſaries let ſlip no opportunity of inveighing againſt the luxury and libertiniſm of the ſecular clergy, who certainly did not lead the moſt regular lives; and the minds of the people being thus prepared, the king aſſembled a council, and in a ſtudied oration declaimed againſt the irregularities of ſecular prieſts, their riots, their amours, and debauchery; then addreſſing himſelf to Dunſtan and his confederates, conjured them to take ſome effectual methods for reforming ſuch enormous abuſes. As this ſpeech was evidently levelled againſt the ſecular clergy, the friends of that body would not venture to oppoſe the king's inclination, and the triumvirate of biſhops took the firſt opportunity of expelling the ſeculars from all the churches and convents under their juriſdiction and influence. Perhaps this expulſion would not have been ſo eaſily executed, had not the ſecular prieſts incurred the cenſure of the common people, by living in open marriage, notwithſtanding the prohibition of the popes, who had already inſiſted upon the celibacy of the clergy as a fundamental point of religion.

M. Weſt. G. Malm.

After this ſignal ſervice rendered to the monks, Edgar was celebrated not only as the greateſt monarch, but alſo as the holieſt king that ever reigned in England. His brother Edwy had been reviled and even excommunicated as an impious wretch, for carrying on a ſimple intrigue with the fair Athelgiva, whom ſome hiſtorians ſuppoſe to have been

been his wife, though the marriage was within the degrees of conſanguinity prohibited by the canon law. We have already ſeen how that poor lady was branded by the fanatic Odo, and tranſported to Ireland, though he had no legal power to inflict corporal puniſhment on the meaneſt ſubject. On her return ſhe was hamſtrung by the ſame audacious prelate, while her unhappy lover, unable to protect her from ſuch barbarity, or even to revenge her wrongs, was publicly calumniated as a tyrant and an adulterer, and even deprived of the beſt part of his dominions by the arts and inſtigations of thoſe eccleſiaſtical traitors. But Edgar, whoſe paſſions were more irregular, indulged them with impunity, even to unpardonable exceſs: he committed a rape upon a nun, by whom he had a daughter named Editha, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed herſelf for her great piety, in conſequence of which ſhe was canonized. For this ſacrilege, which in Edwy would have been unpardonable, all the penance which Dunſtan inflicted, was a ſlight cenſure, which delayed the coronation of Edgar, who nevertheleſs enjoyed his pleaſure without controul, deflowering the daughters of his ſubjects, and ſnatching that by force which he could not obtain by intreaty. An.Ch.959. G. Malm.

His firſt wife was Elflida, ſurnamed the Fair, daughter of a nobleman called Ordmer, by whom he had Edward his immediate ſucceſſor; and he afterwards married Elfrida, the beauteous heireſs of Devonſhire, whoſe ſtory is too remarkable to be paſſed over in ſilence. This young lady had been educated at home, under the inſpection of her father Ordung count of Devon, who had no other child; but nowithſtanding her retired life, the fame of her beauty and accompliſhments reached the ears of Edgar, who employed his favourite Ethelwald to viſit the father on ſome pretext, which would afford an opportunity of ſeeing the daughter, that he

The ſtory of Edgar and Elfrida.

An.Ch 959. he might certainly know whether or not her beauty really juſtified the report he had heard. Ethelwald no ſooner ſaw the fair Elfrida than his own heart was captivated; and, in order to detach the king intirely from this ſubject, he deſcribed her in ſuch a manner as diveſted Edgar of all curioſity to be further acquainted with her perſon. Having weaned the king's thoughts from Elfrida, he took occaſion to repreſent to his majeſty the advantages he himſelf ſhould reap from ſuch a profitable match, and having obtained permiſſion to demand her in marriage from the father, ſucceeded in his ſuit. Soon after he had thus accompliſhed his aim, ſome courtier, who owed him a grudge, explained the whole myſtery to Edgar, who, tho' extremely incenſed at the treachery of Ethelwald, diſſembled his reſentment, till he ſhould have an opportunity of inveſtigating the truth by the evidence of his own ſenſes. He accordingly found ſome pretence for hunting or travelling near Ethelwald's houſe, and declared his intention of viſiting the lady who had been the ſubject of ſo much converſation. He was then fully convinced of Ethelwald's perfidious dealing; yet he ſtill diſguiſed his indignation, and in a little time the favourite was found murdered in a wood. The ſuſpicion fell immediately on the king, becauſe he took no ſteps to diſcover the perpetrators of the murder; but, as ſoon as decency would permit, married the widow, by whom he had Edmund, who died in his infancy, and Ethelred, who lived to reign in the order of ſucceſſion.

Brompton.

An.Ch.975. His death and character.

The term of his penance being expired, he was ſolemnly anointed and crowned at Bath, by the hands of archbiſhop Dunſtan, and having ſurvived this ceremony about two years, died at the age of thirty-three, ſo much in favour with the monks, that not contented with applauding him as a moſt excellent king, they have likewiſe repreſented him as

as a saint, from some uncommon appearances in his dead body, which was placed close to the great altar in the church of Glastenbury, where they pretend it wrought abundance of miracles. Edgar, far from having any title to this preheminence, was a prince of a very mixed character, in which the vicious passions very often predominated. Though we grant him to have been a sound politician, an excellent legislator, and a monarch whose abilities were employed for the benefit of his country, we must own at the same time that he ascended the throne of Mercia by the most flagrant injustice; that he was superstitious in his religion, lawless in his passion, and bloody in his revenge; for, exclusive of the vengeance upon Ethelwald, he destroyed the whole isle of Thanet with fire and sword, because a few of the inhabitants had been concerned in plundering some merchants from York. He extended his liberality to men of learning and genius; his court was hospitable and magnificent, and generally filled with a concourse of foreigners, who were charmed with his elegance and politeness: and from the tranquillity of his reign, he acquired the denomination of Edgar the Pacific.* An.Ch.975. G. Mal. mesb. M. West. Brompton.

* Tho' he was small in stature, and of a slender make, he possessed an uncommon share of personal strength and agility, and was very dextrous at all the exercises of the times. Nor was his pacific reign owing to any defect in point of courage, as he demonstrated on different occasions. Kenneth, king of Scotland, while he resided at his court, is said to have ridiculed the diminutive stature of Edgar, one night while he was intoxicated with liquor. His unmannerly jest being reported to the king, he made some pretence to walk along with Kenneth into an unfrequented place, where giving him to understand that he was informed of the contempt he had expressed for his person, he desired him to draw his sword, and he would convince him of his mistake, if he thought courage depended upon the muscles of the body. Kenneth, struck with this instance of magnanimity, begged pardon for the rudeness of his behaviour, which he imputed to his intoxication: and Edgar admitted of his apology. The Scottish historians deny the truth of this circumstance, as if they thought it derogated from the courage of Kenneth; though it rather redounds to the honour of his memory, as it proves he had sense and candour to make reparation for the offence he had given.

EDWARD

EDWARD THE MARTYR.

An.Ch.975. Diſputes about the ſucceſſion terminated in favour of Edward.

IMmediately after the deceaſe of Edgar, Elfser duke of Mercia, ſworn enemy to the monks, expelled them from all the benefices in his country, which he filled again with ſecular prieſts; ſome other noblemen followed his example in differents parts of the kingdom, but the duke of Eaſt-Anglia and many other perſons of the firſt rank adhered to Dunſtan and his party, which was likewiſe eſpouſed by almoſt the whole body of the commons, who looked upon that prelate as a ſaint and apoſtle. This diverſity of ſentiments produced a conteſt concerning the ſucceſſion; for Elfrida, the queen-dowager, a woman of an ambitious ſpirit, had by her emiſſaries circulated ſome doubts about the validity of Edgar's marriage with the mother of Edward, in hope of raiſing her own ſon Ethelred to the throne; and as the other was ſupported by Dunſtan, all that prelate's enemies declared for the ſon of Elfrida. Though by theſe means there was a very powerful faction formed in his favour, the archbiſhop, confiding in his great popularity, aroſe from the aſſembly of the ſtates while they were deliberating upon the choice of a ſucceſſor to Edgar, and taking prince Edward by the hand, conducted him to the church, where he was anointed and conſecrated, in the twelfth year of his age, amidſt a vaſt concourſe of people, who teſtified their joy in loud acclamations. Whatever inclination the oppoſite party felt to controvert this irregular way of proceeding, they would not run the riſque of diſobliging the multitude, but left Edward in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown, while his ſtep-mother Elfrida retired to

Corf

Corf Caſtle in Dorſetſhire, which was aſſigned as her dower, and there in ſecret hatched ſchemes for his deſtruction. An.Ch.975.

Dunſtan, having thus ſecured the continuance of his own power and intereſt, exerted all his endeavours to maintain the monks in the benefices which they had acquired in the preceding reign, and even employed the king's authority in their behalf. But, as little regard was paid to the declaration of a minor prince, intirely under his direction and influence, he had recourſe to miracles, which more effectually anſwered his purpoſe. His propoſals in council were ſeconded by a ſpeaking crucifix, and a viſion of St. Andrew: and at a mixed aſſembly compoſed of the laity and clergy, who had met at Calne in Wiltſhire, the debates running high againſt the monks, the whole roof of the houſe fell down, and cruſhed a number of people to death, while the beam under which St. Dunſtan's chair was placed, continued firm and immoveable, and defended the holy biſhop, who ſuſtained no damage, though every other perſon in the aſſembly was either killed or wounded. This dreadful ſcene augmented and confirmed the great opinion which was entertained of his ſanctity; and his authority gained ground in the ſame proportion; but ſome of his enemies were malicious enough to obſerve, that Dunſtan had that day hindered the king from appearing in council. Dunſtan's intrigues in behalf of the monks. An.Ch.977. Malmesb. de Geſt.R.R. Floreleg.

Beſides theſe eccleſiaſtical affairs, no tranſaction of conſequence diſtinguiſhed the reign of Edward, which laſted but four years, and was concluded in a very tragical manner. The king returning one day from the chace in Dorſetſhire, rode up ſingly to the gate of Corf caſtle, to pay a compliment to his ſtep-mother Elfrida, who invited him very courteouſly to alight; and finding him in a hurry Edward is murdered by the direction of his ſtep-mother Elfrida.

An.Ch.977. hurry to be gone, inſiſted upon his drinking a cup of wine as he ſat on horſeback; the young prince complied with her requeſt, and as he ſwallowed the liquor, was ſtabbed in the back by one of her domeſtics tutored for the purpoſe. Edward, finding himſelf wounded, clapped ſpurs to his horſe, but he fainted with loſs of blood; and his foot being entangled in the ſtirrup, as he fell, was dragged a conſiderable way, when the horſe made a ſtop of his own accord before the door of a poor old blind woman; there the ſervants of Elfrida, ſent by their miſtreſs to know the iſſue of her treaſon, found the unhappy prince quite dead, and terribly defaced by the flints over which
An.Ch.979. he had been dragged. They threw the body into a well, where in a few days it was found, and interred at Wareham, from whence it was afterwards tranſported to the monaſtery of Shafteſbury, where it is ſaid to have performed a great many miracles; and Edward was canonized as a ſaint and martyr. As for Elfrida, ſhe was ſeized with horror and remorſe for the inhuman crime ſhe had committed; in order to atone for which, ſhe founded two monaſteries, one at Ambreſbury in Wiltſhire, the other at Worwell in Northamptonſhire; in the laſt of which ſhe endeavoured to
Malmesb. l. ii. expiate her guilt by a life of penance and mortification.

ETHELRED II.

Edward is ſucceeded by Ethelred. EDWARD being thus baſely murdered, Dunſtan is ſaid to have offered his intereſt to Edgitha, the natural daughter of Edgar, who was, by this time, abbeſs of the convent at Wilton: but, ſhe was too conſcious of the defect in her own

own title, and too much terrified at the deplorable fate of her brother Edward, to accept his offer; he therefore, having no other pretence to reject the pretenſions of Ethelred, crowned and conſecrated that prince at Kingſton, in the twelfth year of his age. But, this ceremony he performed with ſuch malevolence as plainly evinced the rancour of his heart; for, in the very act of placing the crown upon this young prince's head, he prophecied that his reign ſhould be curſed with the miſery and ſlaughter of his ſubjects, becauſe he had ſucceeded to the crown in conſequence of his mother's guilt, to which this innocent youth was ſo far from being acceſſary, that he bewailed his brother's death with all the bitterneſs of ſorrow, and thereby incurred his mother's diſpleaſure and hatred. Had Ethelred inherited the ſpirit of his father, Dunſtan's prophecy would in all probability have been falſified: but, he was a prince of very mean parts, though very amiable in his perſon; his education had been neglected before his acceſſion to the throne, and now that he found himſelf veſted with the regal power, without knowledge or reſolution, he was involved in a labyrinth of perplexity, which was increaſed by his natural timidity, indolence, and diſtruſt. An. Ch. 979. Flor. Sim. Dunelm.

Such being the diſpoſition and inexperience of the prince, no wonder that the reins of government were relaxed, and all the neceſſary precautions for the ſecurity of the kingdom entirely neglected. The principal nobility, who had been entruſted with the government of different counties, perpetuated the adminiſtration in their families, aſſumed the name of dukes, exerciſed an independent authority in their own diſtricts, and diſregarded that union upon which alone the ſafety and welfare of the nation could depend. The regulations of the militia were no longer obſerved: The weakneſs of that prince.

the

An.Ch.979. the Engliſh gave themſelves up to effeminate pleaſures, and hired mercenaries to do the drudgery of war; and theſe hirelings were generally Danes, who had no intereſt but that of plundering the people whom they were employed to protect. Thus the Saxons expoſed themſelves, with the utmoſt temerity, to the deſigns of their moſt inveterate enemy; and the government, as if it had conſpired againſt the nation, ſuffered its chief bulwark, the navy, to decay and periſh, for want of maintenance and repair. The Danes, who were ſettled in England, ſtill retained their old deſire of freeing themſelves from the Engliſh yoke, and, in all probability, encouraged their countrymen to make a deſcent at this favourable juncture, when the government was weak, and the kingdom defenceleſs.

An.Ch.982. A body of Danes invade England.

Accordingly a body of thoſe pyrates arrived in ſeven veſſels; and having pillaged the town of Southampton and the neighbouring country, ſailed round to Cornwall, where they renewed their ancient ravages; while another armament made a diſcent upon Portland, and returned to their ſhips loaden with booty. Their motions were ſo ſudden, from one part of the coaſt to the other, that it was altogether impracticable to ſecure the country from their depredations, and there was ſuch a languor in the adminiſtration, that they were not oppoſed with that vigour and alacrity which they dreaded in the former reigns. In a word, the country was expoſed to the moſt cruel calamities of war for a ſeries of years, during which the people were robbed, ruined, and murdered with impunity; for, whenever the enemy were worſted, they retired to their ſhips, and all the advantage which the Engliſh derived from their victory, was the recovery of their own effects, and a very ſmall reſpite, until the army retreated, or the Danes found

found themſelves in a condition to repeat their attempt: whereas, when thoſe invaders remained maſters of the field, they committed the moſt barbarous outrages, and left the whole country in deſolation. An.Ch.982.

As Ethelred paid very little regard to the monks, and had more than once made their leader Dunſtan feel the weight of his regal power, they ſeconded the efforts of the Danes, by fomenting the ſpirit of diſcontent and diſaffection, and exciting civil diſſenſions, which diſabled the adminiſtration from taking effectual meaſures to repulſe the enemy, who were moreover encouraged and joined by numbers of their own countrymen ſettled in England. The people at length began to be undeceived with regard to the ſanctity of Dunſtan, and even to diſcredit his pretended power of working miracles, becauſe he neither could maintain his own intereſt in the ſtate, nor avert thoſe calamities which afflicted the nation. They ſaw with indifference the contempt which Ethelred manifeſted for the archbiſhop, eſpecially in a quarrel with the biſhop of Rocheſter, whoſe cauſe Dunſtan eſpouſed with ſuch violence of zeal, that the king compelled him to purchaſe his forbearance with one hundred pounds of gold; an exaction for which he denounced a bitter curſe againſt his majeſty, and conceived ſuch chagrin and mortification, as in all probability ſhortened the period of his days. He and his two colleagues, the biſhops of York and Wincheſter, died within a year of each other, and with them the credit of the monks expired. The attention of the common people was too much engroſſed by the miſeries of war, to be employed on controverſial points of religion; and a mortality that enſued, entirely extinguiſhed the diſpute between them and the ſecular clergy. Dunſtan loſes all his influence. Malmeſb. Ingulphus.

An. Ch. 987. After the Danes had for ten years ſucceſſively pillaged the coaſts of England, they diſcontinued their ravages, and the people enjoyed a reſpite of two years; ſo that they began to hope the enemy had turned their arms againſt ſome other quarter of Europe. But theſe hopes were fatally fruſtrated; for, when they leaſt expected ſuch a viſitation, Juſtin and Guthmund, two Daniſh generals, landed with a ſtrong body of forces at Sheppeſwick in Eſſex; and while they were employed in pillaging, Brithnot, duke of Eaſt-Anglia, advanced with his troops in order to ſurpriſe them: but they gave him ſuch a warm reception, that he was defeated; and meeting with no further oppoſition, they advanced into the heart of the country, in which they committed the moſt horrible exceſſes. In this extremity Ethelred allowed himſelf to be perſuaded by Siric, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to buy a peace with a ſum of money: and the expedient ſucceeded ſo far, that the Daniſh generals retired; but, at the ſame time, it encouraged other adventurers of that nation to try the like experiment. Accordingly a fleet of thoſe free-booters appeared in the courſe of the enſuing year upon the coaſt of Eaſt-Anglia; but, on this occaſion, Ethelred took a more wiſe and manly method of treating the enemy: he aſſembled a great number of ſhips from all parts of the kingdom, at London, where he ordered them to be well manned and ſupplied with munitions of war: then beſtowing the command of this armament upon Alfric, duke of Mercia, directed him to block up the Daniſh navy in the harbour in which it lay at anchor: but, the ſcheme was defeated by the treachery of Alfric, who deſerted to the Danes, and gave them notice of the danger; ſo that they put to ſea immediately, and eſcaped. The king was ſo much incenſed at the traitor, that he commanded the eyes of his children to be put out; yet

Ethelred buys a ſhameful peace of the Danes.

Wighorn. Chron. Sax.

An. Ch. 991.

was

was weak enough to receive him into favour again, and give him another opportunity to repeat his treaſon. Alfric's motive for acting in this perfidious manner was the deſire of being revenged upon the king, for having exiled him after the death of his father, on account of ſome miſconduct or treaſonable practices, for which Ethelred, who was his relation, had pardoned and reſtored him to his poſſeſſions. An. Ch. 991.

Hitherto the Daniſh invaſions had been no other than petty enterprizes, atchieved by private adventurers; but, now Swein and Anlaf, kings of Denmark and Norway, allured by the ſucceſs of their ſubjects, reſolved to have a ſhare of the ſpoils of England. For this purpoſe they equipped a numerous fleet, and ſailing up the Humber, ravaged Lindſey, and waſted the greateſt part of Yorkſhire. A body of troops was aſſembled to oppoſe them, and put under the command of three counts, who being of Daniſh extraction, betrayed their truſt, and betook themſelves to flight in the very beginning of the engagement; ſo that the Engliſh were routed, and the country became a prey to the conquerors. Here the victors fixed their winter-quarters, and in the ſpring ſailing towards the Thames, entered that river without oppoſition; then landing their troops, made ſeveral attempts upon London; but meeting with more reſiſtance than they expected, they deſiſted from that enterprize, and penetrated into the provinces of Kent, Hampſhire, and Suſſex, which they laid waſte with fire and ſword. As they threatened to over-run the whole kingdom in the ſame manner, Ethelred, being deſtitute of all means of oppoſition, had recourſe to his former expedient, and promiſed to pay a conſiderable ſum of money within a ſpecified time, on condition that they would immediately put a ſtop to hoſtilities, and quit the king- Swein and Anlaf make a deſcent upon England.

An.Ch.994 dom, as ſoon as they ſhould receive the tribute. The propoſal was embraced, and the two kings retired to Southampton, from whence Anlaf came to viſit Ethelred, who perſuaded him to be baptized: he had no ſooner declared himſelf a chriſtian, than he promiſed upon oath, that he would never moleſt the country of England again, and he kept his word with great punctuality.

Flor. Wig. An. Sax.

The Engliſh troops are defeated, and Wales and Dorſetſhire ravaged by the Danes.

Thoſe two princes ſet ſail together for Denmark, though with very different intentions; thoſe of Anlaf were not more pacific than Swein's were ſavage and hoſtile towards the Engliſh king. He left a fleet at Southampton, commanded by an officer who had orders to preſs the payment of the money; and if that ſhould be delayed, to right himſelf with the ſword. He accordingly demanded the immediate execution of the treaty, in the moſt peremptory manner; and as Ethelred found great difficulty in raiſing the money, he conſtrued the delay into a refuſal, and reſolved to renew the war. Finding the country adjoining to his quarters in a poſture of defence, he ſailed round the Land's-end of Cornwall, and entering the river Severne, made a deſcent upon Wales, which he deſolated with the utmoſt cruelty; then he penetrated into Dorſetſhire, which met with the ſame deplorable fate, and defeated the troops that were raiſed for the defence of the country. Having ruined and pillaged whole provinces without further oppoſition, they re-imbarked and ſailed back to the coaſt of Kent, where an effort made by the inhabitants to check their progreſs, ſerved only to incenſe them to a greater degree of barbarity and revenge, which they gratified with the moſt inhuman brutality; and what completed the miſery of England, a fleet equipped by Ethelred was rendered uſeleſs by the diſcord that prevailed among the commanders.

The

The nation was then upon the verge of ruin, when it was delivered for the preſent by the dangerous ſituation of Richard II. duke of Normandy, who, being threatened by the king of France with the loſs of his dominions, called the Danes over to his aſſiſtance. By this accident, Ethelred gained a remiſſion of ſome months, during which, however, he does not ſeem to have taken any meaſures for the protection of his ſubjects: for the Danes, after having ſecured Richard in his dukedom, returned to Britain, which they found as defenceleſs as before. They again ravaged Wales, over-ran Weſſex, reduced Exeter, and filled the country with ſuch conſternation, that the inhabitants fled before them, and the king was ſeized with a panic that prevented him from taking the field in perſon, or forming any reſolution in behalf of his ſubjects. The Danes proceeded without let or moleſtation, until they had ſubdued the iſle of Wight, together with the counties of Hants and Dorſet, where they eſtabliſhed magazines, and from whence they made irruptions into the neighbouring diſtricts. While the ſouthern parts of the kingdom were thus ravaged by the foreign Danes, the northern provinces were occupied by the Engliſh breed of the ſame nation, who, inſtead of fighting in defence of what was now their country, joined their countrymen, and contributed to its deſtruction.

An.Ch.994. England is miſerably harraſſed by the Danes.

Ethelred ſeeing his realm reduced to this miſerable ſituation, obeyed the dictates of his fear and deſpondence, and ſubmitted to pay thirty thouſand pounds to thoſe invaders; a ſum that was raiſed by a tax diſtinguiſhed by the name of Danegelt. In conſideration of this tribute, the main body of Danes retired to their own country; tho' a good number choſe to fix their habitation in England, where being ſupported by the natives of the ſame race, they became extremely inſolent and oppreſſive, living at

The origin of Danegelt.

An. Ch. 994. their eaſe upon the labour of the Engliſh, who were by this time ſo diſpirited by their paſt misfortunes, that they durſt not diſobey thoſe haughty foreigners, to whom they gave the appellation of Lord-Danes.

Chron. Sax. Sim. Dun.

Ethelred marries Emma, ſiſter of the duke of Normandy.

Ethelred finding by experience how little he could depend upon his own ſubjects in ſuch calamitous conjunctures, reſolved to ſtrengthen his hands by an alliance, from which he promiſed himſelf aſſiſtance and ſecurity. The duke of Normandy had hitherto favoured the Danes, who were indeed his own countrymen, in all their expeditions to England; and as his ports were exactly oppoſite to the Britiſh coaſt, thoſe pyrates found great convenience in being able to run acroſs the channel occaſionally, and ſecure their plunder by returning to the Norman harbours. Ethelred, on the ſuppoſition that they would not only be deprived of this advantage, but alſo diverted from attacking his dominions, if he could form a ſtrong connection with Richard, ſent ambaſſadors to demand of that duke his ſiſter Emma in marriage; and the Norman willingly agreed to

A. C. 1002. the propoſal. The lady was brought over to England, where the nuptials were ſolemnized with great ſplendour; and in all probability Ethelred might have been benefited by the alliance, had not he defeated all the purpoſes of the match, by contriving and executing a moſt execrable and impolitic plan, which intailed upon him the hatred of the Normans, and the revenge of the Daniſh monarch.

Ethelred is governed by wicked counſellors.

Of himſelf he was weak, fearful, and indolent; therefore we are to ſuppoſe that he was inſtigated on this occaſion by the advice of his favourite counſellors, Huna general of his army, and Edric Streona duke of Mercia, whoſe villainy and miſconduct had in a great meaſure contributed to the diſtreſs of the nation. Theſe unprincipled traitors induſtriouſly ſtimulated the king's reſentment againſt the Danes,

who

who lately fixed their reſidence among the Engliſh, by exaggerating the pride and inſolence of thoſe people, and repreſenting in aggravated colours the outrages they daily committed, through meer wantonneſs of oppreſſion. Having rouſed his reſentment, they likewiſe intereſted his fear, by alarming him with feigned diſcoveries of a conſpiracy thoſe Danes had formed to deprive him of his life; and, while his paſſions were in a ferment, propoſed that he ſhould anticipate their deſign by making a general maſſacre of all the Danes in England, except thoſe poſſeſſed of Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland, who were too numerous to be maſtered by the few Engliſh reſiding in thoſe countries. A. C. 1002.

They found means to draw ſuch an agreeable proſpect of the conſequences which would attend this inhuman ſacrifice, that the impotent prince agreed to the propoſal, and meaſures were inſtantly concerted for carrying it into execution. The orders were ſo diſtinct, and circulated with ſuch ſecrecy, that the miſerable victims never dreamed of the horrible vengeance that hung over their heads; and on St. Brice's day, the time fixed for the maſſacre, they were all butchered by the vindictive Saxons, without diſtinction of age or ſex. It was not ſo much a ſacrifice to liberty, as a feaſt of carnage to gratify revenge, for the ſlaughter was attended with circumſtances of the moſt ſavage cruelty. The ruffian Edric diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this ſcene of blood, by an action for which his memory muſt always be held in horror and deteſtation. The peace with Swein, king of Denmark, had been principally effected by the mediation of his ſiſter Gunilda, who had embraced the chriſtian faith, and married count Puling, an Engliſh nobleman; ſo that ſhe conſidered England as her native country, and voluntarily offered herſelf and family as hoſtages for her brother's punctual obſerv- The Danes are cruelly maſſacred.

A. C. 1002. ance of the treaty. From that day she lived under the eye of Edric, who, from meer wantonness of barbarity, devoted this unfortunate princess to death among the undistinguished crouds of her countrymen. He commanded her husband and children to be butchered in her presence, and herself to be transfixed with four lances; a fate she underwent, never altering a feature in her countenance, after having declared that the shedding of her blood would prove the ruin of the English nation.

Walling. Hunting. G. Malmes. Chron. Sax.

Swein vows revenge.

Some of the Danes, more prudent than the rest, instead of flying to churches and altars, which the English polluted with their blood, took refuge on board of a vessel; and hoisting sail for Denmark, carried the news of the massacre to Swein, who was determined to take vengeance on the perpetrators, even before he was made acquainted with the fate of his beloved sister. But when he heard the particulars of her deplorable catastrophe, he was transported with the most furious indignation, and swore he would never sit down in peace, until he should have revenged such a horrible outrage, with the ruin of the English nation. He forthwith began to make preparations for the performance of this dreadful oath. He ordered all the men at arms within his kingdom to assemble at a certain rendezvous, and invited all soldiers of fortune from every country, with promise of ample rewards in the plunder or property of England. At the same time he employed an infinite number of artificers in equipping a very powerful navy; and as the whole nation was animated with a surprising ardour of resentment against the English, he in a very little time was supplied with a fleet of three hundred well appointed vessels, in which he embarked a considerable body of troops, and set sail immediately

A. C. 1003. on this important expedition.

After

After a ſhort voyage, he arrived upon the coaſt of Cornwall, where he landed his forces without oppoſition, and ravaged the country as far as Devonſhire; then he inveſted the city of Exeter, the garriſon of which was commanded by one Hugh, a Norman; and this villain betrayed it to the enemy, who plundered the houſes, and afterwards razed the fortifications to the ground. Ethelred, alarmed at this event, aſſembled an army for the defence of the kingdom, and conferred the chief command upon Alfric, whom, after his repeated treachery, he had again received into his boſom. This conſummate traitor advanced into Hampſhire, to which Swein had by this time penetrated; and the two armies were already in ſight of each other, when Alfric pretended to be taken ſuddenly ill, and ordered his troops to retire, without hazarding an engagement; a retreat which permitted Swein to pillage Wiltſhire, without oppoſition, and burn and deſtroy Wilton and Saliſbury, which was the ſcene of his ſiſter's murder. After having thus laid waſte the country, he returned to Denmark, where he paſſed the winter; but, in the beginning of ſpring he made another deſcent in Eaſt-Anglia, and reduced the whole city of Norwich to aſhes.

A. C. 1003. The treachery of Alfric. Hoveden. Chron. Sax.

Ulfketel, governor of that province, preſented him with a conſiderable ſum, on condition that he ſhould ſpare the reſt of the country; but notwithſtanding this agreement, he ſurpriſed Thetford, which underwent the fate of Norwich. Ulfketel, incenſed at this breach of faith, aſſembled a body of troops, and took poſt in an advantageous ſituation between the Daniſh army and their ſhips, in order to cut off their retreat. Swein, being apprized of his intention, marched back immediately to give him battle; and a deſperate engagement enſued,

The bravery of Ulfketel.

in

A. C. 1003. in which, though victory declared for the Danes, they sustained a considerable loss, and owned they had never been so roughly handled in England before.

Flor Wig.

The king buys another respite.

The gallant Ulfketel, though of Danish extraction, was the most faithful and valiant nobleman in the service of Ethelred, who was betrayed by his own servants in such a manner that Swein had spies in his court and even in his council; while the majority of the nobles were either corrupted by the Dane, or looked upon the king with such contempt, that they served him with reluctance: and the clergy, particularly the monks, were so avaritious, that they would not contribute to the defence of the kingdom, but pleaded their privileges and exemptions, as if the state had enjoyed the most profound tranquillity. What wonder then, that the king of Denmark should over-run the greatest part of England, without controul. He accordingly desolated Kent, Sussex, and the provinces of the West Saxons; and the misery of the English was completed by a dreadful famine, which, however, extended to the enemy likewise: so that Swein accepted of six and thirty thousand pounds, in consideration of indulging them with another temporary respite.

Ingulph.

Ethelred equips a navy.

The Danes were no sooner departed, than Ethelred solemnized with great magnificence the nuptials of one of his daughters with the perfidious Edric Streon, whom he had created duke of Mercia, a traitor devoted to the Danes, who never let slip one opportunity of betraying the interests of his master. A year being elapsed since the conclusion of the treaty, Swein sent a number of ships to demand another sum equal to that which he had received; pretending that it was an annual tribute, which the English had obliged themselves to pay. Ethelred and his council, alarmed at this insolent demand,

A. C. 1007.

and

and foreſeeing no end to the impoſition, reſolved to employ that money in a more effectual manner for the protection of the kingdom, and ordered ſhips to be built with all poſſible diſpatch in all the harbours and docks of England; every three hundred and ten hides of land being obliged to furniſh and maintain one veſſel: ſo that, in a very little time, he was maſter of a larger fleet than had ever belonged to any of his predeceſſors. Yet, this powerful armament, which rendezvouſed at Sandwich, was rendered altogether unſerviceable by the diſſenſions of the nobility, who had not virtue or conſideration ſufficient to ſacrifice their private animoſities to the ſafety of the public. A. C. 1007. Chron. Sax.

Wulfnoth, father to the famous earl Goodwin, was falſely accuſed by Brightric, brother to the traitor Edric, of ſome treaſonable practices, and knowing that he could not expect juſtice in a court where his enemies prevailed, he retired with twenty ſhips, manned by his adherents, who reſolved to follow his fortune, and committed depredations on his own country. Brightric, tranſported with the rage of diſappointed reſentment, put to ſea immediately with fourſcore ſhips, in purſuit of the fugitive, and was overtaken by a tempeſt that drove the greateſt part of the fleet aſhore, where it was burned by Wulfnoth. This quarrel between the admirals produced ſuch factions among the nobility, that they retired from court, and the whole navy was deſtroyed or diſperſed in a few months after it had been equipped. Diſſenſions among the nobility and officers. Flor. Wig.

Mean while the Danes did not fail to take the advantage of thoſe diſorders: two fleets of thoſe pyrates arrived in the ſpring, under the command of three generals, who joining their forces in Kent, ravaged the country, and then inveſted Canterbury, which would have fallen into their hands, had not the inhabitants redeemed themſelves with a large ſum Edric's conſummate perfidy.

A. C. 1007. ſum of money. While theſe freebooters were employed in pillaging Kent, Ethelred aſſembled an army which he headed in perſon, and took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong poſt, with a view to intercept the enemy in their return to the ſea-ſide. As the troops were ſuperior to the Danes in number, advantageouſly poſted, and in good ſpirits, in all probability this effort might have been attended with ſucceſs, had not the treacherous Edric Streon prevented the action, by diſſuading the king from expoſing his life to the hazard of a battle againſt an enemy of ſuch approved valour and experienced cruelty. Alarmed by theſe artful inſinuations, the timorous Ethelred allowed the Danes to paſs along quietly with their booty, which they did not immediately convey to Denmark, but fixed their winter-quarters in the iſle of Thanet; from whence they made divers incurſions into the neighbouring country, and made repeated attempts upon London, from which, however, they were always repulſed.

Ethelred pays tribute again to the Danes.

Hitherto they had been deſtitute of cavalry, as they had no accommodation for tranſporting horſes from Denmark; but, now being in poſſeſſion of Eaſt-Anglia, in conſequence of having again defeated the brave Ulfketel, duke of that province, they found plenty of horſes, on which they mounted part of their troops, and by theſe means ſoon ſubdued the counties of Eſſex, Middleſex, Hereford, Buckingham, Oxford, Bedford, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Kent, Surry, Suſſex, Hants, Wilts, and Devon, while nothing remained to the forlorn Ethelred but London and Canterbury: nor could he long preſerve this laſt city; for, at length they attacked it with ſuch fury, that it fell into their hands; when they pillaged and burned it to aſhes, murdered the archbiſhop Alfage, and ſlew nine out of every ten Auguſtin monks whom they found in the place. While the country

Sim. Dun.

thus

thus groaned in desolation, the king summoned a council of the nobles, at London, to deliberate upon some measures to remedy the calamities of the nation; and no other expedient seemed practicable, but that of purchasing peace with another sum of money. A negotiation was immediately begun with the Danes, who agreed to quit the kingdom on the receipt of eight and forty thousand pounds; and this sum was no sooner paid than they retired with their booty. A. C. 1012.

The reader will doubtless be amazed at the infatuation of this unhappy prince, who not only employed the worst of traitors in the first offices of the kingdom, even after he had suffered by repeated instances of their perfidy, but consented to impoverish his country by raising such exorbitant sums, which far from satisfying, served only to whet the avarice of those invaders, and encourage the rest of their countrymen to engage in the like enterprizes. Scarce had the English begun to taste the happiness of their deliverance, when Swein entered the Humber with such a powerful armament as threatened the whole kingdom with desolation. He saw not the least shadow of opposition in making himself master of Northumberland, East-Anglia, and all the country to the northward of Watling-street; but not contented with these conquests, he took hostages from the principal towns, and leaving the government of the province he had subdued to his son Canute, he made an unsuccessful attempt upon London; from whence he marched into Wessex, which he plundered at his leisure, for there was not the face of an enemy to be seen. Resolved to reduce London, he began to make preparations for the siege of that city; but, while he was thus employed, the unhappy Ethelred, seeing there was no safety for him in his own kingdom, retired privately to the isle of Wight, from whence he sent Ethelred retires to Normandy.

A. C. 1012. his two ſons into Normandy, with their mother Emma, in order to prevail upon Richard to afford him refuge in his dominions. That prince, though he knew his ſiſter had been unworthily treated by Ethelred, ſacrificed his reſentment to his magnanimity, and invited the Engliſh monarch to his court, where he met with a very generous reception. As for the inhabitants of London, they thought themſelves at liberty, by the king's abdication and retreat, to provide for their own ſafety; and as the place was not in a condition to ſuſtain a ſiege, they ſubmitted to the king of Denmark, who had by this time ſubjected all the reſt of the kingdom; and Swein was proclaimed king of England, in which there was no perſon ſo hardy as to diſpute his title.

Sim. Dun.

Swein is proclaimed king of England.

A. C. 1014. The firſt act of ſovereignty he exerciſed was laying an inſupportable tax on the people; but he did not live to ſee it exacted; for, in a few months after the ſurrender of London, he called an aſſembly of his principal officers at Gainſborough, and died ſuddenly before the council broke up. The monks pretended he was mortally wounded by the ſpirit of St. Edmund, becauſe he threatened to lay under contribution the monaſtery in which that monarch was interred; but in all probability he was poiſoned by thoſe honeſt eccleſiaſtics, who began to perceive that he would pay very little regard to their privileges and exemptions. After his death, the Danes proclaimed his ſon Canute king of England; but, in ſpite of all the menaces and intrigues of thoſe invaders, the Engliſh recalled Ethelred, and promiſed to ſtand by him with their lives and fortunes, in oppoſition to the Danes, whoſe dominion they could not endure. At firſt he ſuſpected their fidelity, but ſent over his ſon Edmund to ſound their intentions; and that prince met with ſuch a favourable reception, that the father returned to Eng-

Swein dies ſuddenly, and Ethelred is recalled.

England amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people, who took the oath of allegiance anew, and he on his part promiſed to amend his adminiſtration. A. C. 1014.

Such was the ardour of the Engliſh to ſhake off the Daniſh yoke, that they flocked to his ſtandard from all quarters; and in a little time he found himſelf at the head of a numerous army, with which he marched directly to Lindſey againſt Canute, who had agreed with the inhabitants of that country for horſes to mount his cavalry. He was ſo ſurpriſed at the ſudden approach and activity of Ethelred, who had hitherto been dilatory even to a proverb, that he retreated to his ſhips with precipitation, and ſet ſail for Denmark, leaving his friends at Lindſey to the mercy of the Engliſh monarch, who deſtroyed their habitations, and puniſhed their perſons with the utmoſt ſeverity. Canute, before he directed his courſe towards his own country, touched at Sandwich, where he ſent aſhore all the Engliſh hoſtages, without their hands and noſes; a barbarous mutilation which no provocation could juſtify. It was not ſo much the fear of Ethelred's arms that induced him to leave the kingdom at this juncture, as the ambition of his younger brother Harold, who at his father's death had attempted to aſcend the throne of Denmark, which Canute was not at all diſpoſed to give up for the uncertain proſpect of ſucceeding in his deſigns upon England. Ethelred marches againſt Canute. Chron. Sax.

Ethelred no ſooner ſaw himſelf delivered from the Danes, than he relapſed into his former indolence and miſconduct. He impoſed exorbitant taxes, againſt which the ſubjects loudly exclaimed; and was guilty of ſuch acts of oppreſſion, that the people began to deſpair of his promiſed reformation. Morcart and Sigeferth, two noblemen of Daniſh extraction, who had been always faithful to his intereſt, were now ſacrificed to his avarice. Dur- Morcart and Sigeferth are aſſaſſinated.

A. C. 1014. ing the seſſion of a general council at Oxford, Edric the execrable duke of Mercia, and ſon-in-law to the king, employed aſſaſſins by whom they were murdered; and Ethelred immediately confiſcated their eſtates for his own uſe, as if they had been fairly condemned in the ordinary courſe of law; while Sigeferth's widow Algitha was ſhut up in a cloiſter; though to this confinement ſhe afterwards owed her elevated fortune. Edmund the king's eldeſt ſon chancing to paſs by the monaſtery in which ſhe was immured, had the curioſity to viſit the lady of whoſe beauty he had heard a very favourable report, and became ſo enamoured of her charms that he married her without his father's conſent.

Sim. Dun.

Canute returns to England.

The calm enjoyed by England after the retreat of Canute, was of very ſhort duration: that prince having ſecured himſelf in poſſeſſion of his paternal crown, reſumed his deſign upon this country; and when he was leaſt expected, landed with a numerous body of forces at Sandwich. Ethelred himſelf being indiſpoſed, his ſon Edmund and the traitor Streon duke of Mercia took the command of the army, and the prince was in a very little time convinced of the treachery of his brother in-law. But, as he durſt not puniſh him upon the ſpot, leſt he ſhould incur the hatred of the Mercians, among whom Edric had great influence, and the diſpleaſure of his father, who could not be perſuaded that the duke carried on a treaſonable correſpondence with the enemy, he divided the army into two bodies, that he might have the opportunity of acting ſeparately from ſuch a perfidious miſcreant, who finding himſelf thus baffled in his favourite aim, which was to betray Edmund, pulled off the maſk, and openly declared for Canute. If his defection had affected only his own immediate vaſſals, Ethelred would have been a gainer by his deſertion; but he

he carried off a conſiderable body of troops, and forty ſhips of the navy. A. C. 1014.

Such an acceſſion of power to Canute enabled that prince to execute all his projects without any difficulty; and the Engliſh joined him in crouds, rather than be involved in the ruin of Ethelred, who was at length perſuaded by his ſon to put himſelf at the head of his army, in order to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow, by which alone he had any chance of retrieving his affairs. The preſence of the king and the popularity of Edmund had ſtill ſuch influence among the Engliſh, that great numbers repaired to the royal ſtandard; and as they were now actuated by a furious kind of deſpair, the Danes might have had cauſe to rue the encounter: but this opportunity was loſt by the ſhameful cowardice of Ethelred, who, pretending to have diſcovered a deſign of betraying his perſon to the enemy, retired precipitately to London; and the Mercians refuſing to ſerve when the monarch was no longer in the field, the army was ſo weakened by their ſeceſſion, that Edmund could not pretend to hazard a battle with the Danes. The ſhameful cowardice of Ethelred,

In this emergency he retired to the North, where he joined Uthred count of Northumberland, who had married his ſiſter Elfgiva, and ravaged the provinces which had declared for the Danes. But Canute did not leave his friends long expoſed to theſe hoſtilities; for having ſubdued the greateſt part of the ſouthern counties, he marched to their aſſiſtance, and at his approach Edmund and Uthred retired into Lancaſhire. Even there they found themſelves ſo hard preſſed by the enemy, that Uthred ſubmitted to the Daniſh king, who allowed him to enjoy his government; but afterwards ordered him to be put to death, and appointed a Daniſh governor in his room. Edmund repaired to London, in hope of prevailing upon his father who dies at London.

A. C. 1014. to take more vigorous measures; but that weak prince, who formerly feigned himself indisposed, was now sick in reality, and expired after a reign of thirty seven years, during which England had been afflicted with the most grievous calamities *.

Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. G. Malmes.

EDMUND IRONSIDE.

A. C. 1016. He is succeeded by his son Edmund Ironside.

ETHELRED having resigned his breath, the citizens of London and all the noblemen there present, proclaimed his son Edmund, who had already given signal proofs of his courage and capacity, and acquired the surname of Ironside, from the strength of his constitution; and this young prince was afterwards crowned by Livignus archbishop of Canterbury. But the rest of the bishops, abbots, and a great number of noblemen, declared for Canute, to whom they swore allegiance at Southampton, after having solemnly renounced the race of Ethelred. Mean while Edmund marching into Wessex, was acknowledged as king by the inhabitants of that, as well as several other provinces, and found himself in a condition to dispute the crown with his rival.

Canute, taking advantage of his absence, sailed up the river Thames, in hope of reducing the city

* Ethelred, surnamed the Unready, on account of his negligence and sloth, ascended the throne when the kingdom was rich and flourishing; and left it at his death utterly impoverished and desolate. By his first wife Elgiva, he had Edmund, who succeeded him on the throne; Athelstan, who died an infant; Edwy, who was murdered by order of king Canute; and three daughters; the first, called Edgiva, married an English count, who was killed in battle; Edgitha, the second, fell to the lot of the traitor Edric duke of Mercia; and Edgina, the third, was wife of Uthred count of Northumberland. His issue by Emma of Normandy consisted of two sons, Alfred and Edward, whom their mother sent into her own country, immediately after their father's death; and a daughter called Goda, who first married Walter count of Mantes, and afterwards Eustachius earl of Boulogne.

of

of London, which was the chief resource of Edmund; and from which he had been formerly repulsed by the valour of the inhabitants. He now turned the river into a new channel on the Surry side, and surrounded the whole city with his works; but he still met with such a warm reception, that he was once more obliged to desist from his enterprize, and marched into the country of Wessex, where he hoped to find Edmund unprepared for his reception. The two armies met at Penne in Somersetshire, and a battle ensuing, Edmund obtained the victory: so that Canute was obliged to retreat to Wincheſter, until his army could be recruited; and while he remained in this place, he ordered another body of Danes to besiege Salisbury.

A. C. 1016.

Edmund gains an advantage over Canute, at Penne in Somersetshire.

Florent. Sim. Dun.

Edmund's army being considerably reinforced in consequence of the advantage he had gained, he marched after Midsummer to the relief of that city, and was followed by Canute, strengthened by the men of Hants and Wiltshire, and a great number of English under the command of the traitor Edric, and two noblemen called Algar and Almar. Edmund, at the head of an army levied in the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, waited for him, at a place called Sceorstan on the borders of Worceſter; and there the battle began with great fury. The two opposite princes were well matched in courage, conduct, and experience; and both armies were nearly equal in strength, though the Danes had a manifest advantage in point of discipline. Never was battle fought with more obstinacy and perseverance. It lasted until night parted the combatants, and next day was renewed with fresh vigour. At length the Danes seemed to flag; and the victory would, in all probability, have declared for Ironside, had not their drooping courage been revived by a stratagem of the perfi-

A desperate drawn battle at Sceorstan.

A. C. 1016. dious Edric, who, cutting off the head of one Osmer, who resembled that prince, and exposing it on the point of a spear, called aloud to the English to quit the field, for Edmund was slain. This contrivance would have answered his purpose, in dispiriting the Saxons and animating the Danes, had not Edmund immediately lifted up his beaver, and shewn himself to his soldiers. Having taken this necessary precaution, he rode up towards the treacherous Edric, and darted a javelin at him with such force, that though it missed the traitor, it pinned his next man to the soldier that stood behind him, and both fell breathless on the field. This gallant atchievement, and indeed his whole behaviour during the battle, inspired his army with such vigour, that it required all the conduct and intrepidity of his antagonist to keep his ground, until the second night suspended the dispute. But Canute, foreseeing that he should not be able to maintain a third shock, retired privately, by the help of a dark night, and returned to his ships that were still in the Thames, in order to renew the siege of London.

Sim. Dun. Edmund routes the Danes at Brentford.

Edmund, sensible that he was in no condition, after two such engagements, to march immediately to the relief of that city, beleaguered by such a number of Danes, retired into Wessex, to repair the damage he had sustained; and in this interval Edric assailed him with such professions of sorrow and contrition, and promises and oaths of future fidelity, that the unwary prince, believing him sincere, took him again into favour, thinking by such an acquisition to weaken the hands of his enemies. He had no sooner received the necessary reinforcements than he began his march towards London, and compelled the Danes to raise the siege. Part of their army embarked on board of their ships, and the rest advanced up the river to Brentford,

where the gallant Edmund, passing the river in the very face of their troops, attacked and routed them with great slaughter. After this action he returned to Wessex, and Canute seized that opportunity to renew his attacks upon London; but as he could never block it up entirely, and the citizens defended themselves with extraordinary valour, all his attempts miscarried. Thus baffled he embarked his troops, and sailing into the river Orwel, that divides Essex from Suffolk, laid the country under contributions; from thence they directed their course to the mouth of the Medway, and landing their horse, ravaged the whole county of Kent, until Edmund being informed of these devastations, passed the river Thames again at Brentford, and attacking them at Ottenford, drove them before him into the isle of Sheppey. Perhaps this day might have put an end to the war, had not the traitor Edric found means to dissuade the victor from continuing the pursuit; so that the Danes accomplished a retreat to their ships, and were wafted over into Essex, where they recruited their forces. A. C. 1016. W. Malmesb.

Then they reinvaded Mercia, wreaking their vengeance upon every thing belonging to the adherents of Edmund, who, now resolving to strike a decisive blow, advanced against them with a strong army, and overtook them at Ashdown in Essex. Here the battle joined with great impetuosity, and the English king made such extraordinary efforts of personal bravery, that victory was on the point of declaring in his favour, when the infamous Edric gave way with the whole wing which he commanded; a circumstance that produced such disorder and consternation among the English, that all the endeavours of Edmund proved ineffectual to restore the fortune of the day: his army was totally defeated; and this overthrow was the more unfortunate, as the best part of the English nobi- Edmund receives a terrible overthrow at Ashdown in Essex.

A. C. 1016. Hunting. Hovend. Hift. Ramſ.

lity periſhed in the battle, and among the reſt, the brave Ulfketel, who had upon ſo many occaſions ſignalized his courage and fidelity.

This ſtroke, ſevere as it was, did not extinguiſh the hopes, or ſubdue the fortitude of Edmund, who retired to Glouceſter, almoſt without attendants; but he was ſo much beloved and admired by his ſubjects, that they exerted their utmoſt power and faculties in ſupplying his wants: ſo that in a very little time he was enabled to take the field againſt his conqueror, who had already marched into that part of the country, to prevent him from retrieving his affairs. Thoſe two great princes were again in ſight of each other; but no longer ſo forward, as they had been formerly, to engage. They knew that another battle muſt be deciſive, becauſe the vanquiſhed would be without reſource; and therefore they were very cautious in managing this laſt ſtake. During this pauſe Edmund is ſaid to have propoſed, that he and Canute ſhould decide the diſpute in ſingle combat, in order to ſpare the effuſion of blood; and Canute replied to the propoſal, that if the buſineſs was only to manifeſt his perſonal courage, he would willingly accept the challenge; but he apprehended it would be a very unwiſe and impolitic ſtep in him, who was a man of a ſmall diminutive ſtature, to riſque his life and kingdom upon the iſſue of a duel, with a perſon of Edmund's robuſt make and uncommon agility. However, as his antagoniſt had expreſſed an inclination to ſpare the effuſion of blood, he was ready to open conferences on the ſubject of peace, and would leave the articles to the determination of the principal officers of both armies. This propoſition was eagerly embraced by Edmund, and an equal number of commiſſioners being appointed on each ſide, they aſſembled on the little iſland of Alney, in the Severne; and after a ſhort conference, a

Makes peace with Canute, and is cruelly murdered.

treaty

treaty of peace was concluded, and the kingdom divided between the two competitors *. All the country to the ſouthward of the Thames, together with the city of London, and part of the antient kingdom of Eſſex, was aſſigned to Edmund; and all the reſt of England was allotted to Canute. This diviſion was approved by the two kings, who ratified the peace by oath and the exchange of armour: then the Dane retired to his own dominions. Edmund did not ſurvive this convention above a month; for his brother-in-law Edric, fearing that his ruin would be a neceſſary conſequence of this treaty, completed his treachery by ſuborning two domeſtics to murder the king at Oxford. Thus fell the gallant Edmund by inglorious hands, before he had reigned a full year; though in that ſhort period he had exhibited repeated proofs of the moſt undaunted courage, invincible fortitude, conſummate prudence, and ſublime generoſity. The execrable Edric was the firſt perſon who carried the tidings of Edmund's death to Canute, making a merit of what he had done for his ſervice †.

A. C. 1016.

Sim. Dun. Walling-ford. Rudborne.

* Huntingdon and Matthew of Weſtminſter relate, that the noblemen of each army, wearied with inceſſant war and fatigue, declared openly, that as Edmund and Canute wanted to reign ſingly, they ought to fight ſingly, and decide the contention between themſelves. The kings being informed of theſe clamours, agreed to fight in ſingle combat, and the iſland of Alney was appointed for the liſts. There they met in armour, while their reſpective armies lined the oppoſite ſides of the river, and a moſt furious encounter enſued. At laſt the Dane, finding his ſtrength exhauſted, deſired a parley, and propoſed a partition of the kingdom; to which Edmund conſented, and then throwing away their ſwords, they ran into each other's embrace, to the equal joy and aſtoniſhment of both armies. The articles of the treaty were immediately ſpecified and confirmed, and the two kings parted in amity.

† The manner of his death is variouſly reported; ſome authors allege that the two ſervants, hired for that purpoſe, thruſt a ſharp iron into his fundament while he was eaſing nature; others ſay the fact was perpetrated by Edric's own ſon; while a third ſet affirm he was taken off by poiſon. Be that as it will, he left by his wife Algitha, two ſons called Edmund and Edward; and a natural ſon of the name of Edwy, who was afterwards put to death by Canute's order.

CANUTE

CANUTE THE GREAT.

A. C. 1016. Canute is proclaimed king of England,

CANUTE was ſhocked at the barbarity of the murder; but he diſguiſed his ſentiments, becauſe he had further occaſion for the traitor, and even promiſed to exalt him above all the nobility of the kingdom; an equivocal expreſſion, which was literally verified, in a manner widely different from Edric's expectation. In the mean time Canute reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Weſſex, without paying any regard to the title of Edmund's two ſons, or that of his brothers, who reſided in Normandy: but as he would not ſeize it in quality of a conqueror, he aſſembled the ſtates at London, after his emiſſaries had tutored the individual members in private, and claimed the ſucceſſion by virtue of the treaty concluded in the iſle of Alney, which he pretended to interpret in a ſenſe implying, that the ſurvivor ſhould inherit the dominions of the deceaſed, without any regard to the children of either. The ſtates of Weſſex, dreading the proſpect of another war, and yet unwilling to injure the right of their own royal family, inſinuated to Canute, that they would willingly conſent to his reigning over them as guardian to Edmund's eldeſt ſon: but he refuſed to accept the crown on ſuch precarious terms, and openly demanded in the aſſembly, of thoſe who had been preſent in the treaty, whether or not any thing had been ſtipulated in favour of Edmund's children? When thoſe noblemen replied, that their names had not been mentioned on that occaſion, he interpreted this ſilence into a confirmation of his claim; and there was no perſon preſent who had honeſty and courage enough to oppoſe ſuch a palpable uſurpation. They unanimouſly acknowledged his title.

He

CANUTE.

He was immediately proclaimed king of all England. The Daniſh and Engliſh noblemen took the oath of allegiance, and he was afterwards crowned with great ſolemnity. A. C. 1016. Flor. Wig.

Immediately after his coronation, he divided England into the four great governments of Mercia, Northumberland, Eaſt-Anglia, and Weſſex. The firſt he conferred upon the infamous Edric Streon; the ſecond he gave to Eric; the third was beſtowed upon Turkel; and he reſerved Weſſex to himſelf, without appointing either duke or count of that province. Canute divides England into four governments.

As he very well knew that a number of Engliſh noblemen repined in their hearts at his acceſſion to the throne, and that the people in general were ſtrongly attached to the race of Cerdic, his firſt aim was to ingratiate himſelf with his new ſubjects by popular meaſures; and to take the firſt opportunity of removing thoſe who were the moſt likely and capable to diſturb his government. With that view he affected to declare that he would make no difference between Danes and Engliſh in his favours and adminiſtration; and then publiſhed an edict, importing, that the old laws ſhould be obſerved in every province, as they were in the time of the Saxons; excepting however the provinces of the North, which were almoſt wholly peopled with Danes, who had been long governed by the laws of their own original country. This appearance of juſtice and impartiality had great weight with the people, who looked upon them as happy omens of peace and ſatisfaction; and every mouth was filled with the praiſes of this equitable prince, who ſeemed to have nothing in view but the welfare of his ſubjects.

Canute having ſo far ſucceeded in his ſcheme, reſolved to rid his hands of the two royal infants, believing, that while they lived he ſhould never poſſeſs

A. C. 1016. poſſeſs the throne in peace. He would not venture to take away their lives in England, though the traitor Edric would have gladly undertaken the taſk, becauſe their death would have been naturally laid to his charge; and ſuch a ſuſpicion might have ſapped the foundations of his government. He therefore, on pretence of ſending them to travel, committed them to the care of a truſty Dane, who had orders to take ſome effectual method to prevent them from returning to England.

Canute ſends the ſons of Edmund abroad, in order to be murdered.

This miniſter, leſs barbarous than his maſter, compaſſionating the ſituation of thoſe hapleſs orphans, inſtead of carrying them to Denmark, according to the inſtructions he had received, conveyed them to the king of Sweden, whom he had made acquainted with Canute's intentions. That prince, whatever abhorrence he conceived of this inhuman deſign, was unwilling to incur the diſpleaſure of Canute, by entertaining them at his court; he therefore ſent them to Solomon king of Hungary, from whom they met with a very hoſpitable reception. Edmund died at this court, but Edward married the queen of Hungary's ſiſter Agatha, daughter of Henry II. emperor of Germany, by whom he had Edgar Atheling, and Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland. There ſtill remained in England two ſons of Ethelred II. one legitimate, the other a baſtard; though both were known by the name of Edwy. Even theſe Canute looked upon as obſtacles to his intereſt, and baniſhed from the kingdom; the firſt however he afterwards recalled, on pretence of beſtowing upon him marks of his favour, and then found means to deprive him of his life.

They are protected by the king of Hungary.

Brompton.

But he could contrive no ſcheme for the deſtruction of Edmund's brothers, Alfred and Edward, who reſided with their uncle Richard II. duke of Normandy, and might be one day enabled by that prince

prince to assert their title to the throne. In order to avert that danger, he endeavoured to engage Richard in his interest, by demanding in marriage his sister Emma, the mother of the young princes, and offering his own sister to the Norman. Richard and Emma assented to the proposal; and the double marriage was celebrated accordingly, to the unspeakable chagrin of the two princes, who never could forgive their mother for espousing the inveterate enemy of her first husband, and much less for defrauding them of their right, by subscribing to a marriage-contract, which settled the succession of the crown upon the issue of the marriage.

A. C. 1016. Canute marries Emma, the widow of Ethelred.

A. C. 1017.

W. Malmes. Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax.

Canute having taken these precautions, to establish himself firmly on the throne of England, thought nothing was now wanting to render his authority absolute, but the death of some noblemen, whom he dreaded for their power, or hated for their disaffection. The principal of these were, the dukes of Mercia and East-Anglia, and the count of Northumberland. He knew Edric Streon to be an infamous traitor, upon whose fidelity he could not rely; and therefore doomed him as the first victim to his own security. With respect to this wretch, his interest and equity in a very little time chanced to coincide; for, Edric was rash enough to tell him in public, that he had not been rewarded according to his services; and in particular made a merit of having taken away the life of Edmund, in consequence of which Canute had ascended the throne. He had no sooner pronounced these words, than Canute regarding him with a stern look, "Since, said he, thou hast owned "thyself guilty of that execrable treason, thou stand-"est self-convicted, and shalt immediately suffer the "punishment thou hast deserved by such an atro-"cious crime." So saying, he ordered him to be beheaded on the spot; then his body was thrown into

He puts the traitor Edric to death.

A. C. 1017. into the Thames, and his head fixed upon the high-
Hunting. eſt part of the Tower, that his promiſe to Edric might be literally fulfilled.

Lays a heavy tax upon the nation. Immediately after this execution, a pretence was found for baniſhing Eric, count of Northumberland; and Turkel, duke of Eaſt-Anglia, fearing his turn would be the next, thought proper to anticipate his fate by going into voluntary exile. Several other noblemen of leſs conſideration were ſacrificed to the king's jealouſy, and their offices filled with his own creatures; and now being ſecure from all check or controul, he ventured to ſaddle the nation with a tax, for raiſing eighty thouſand pounds, to pay off the arrears of the Daniſh army, the greateſt part of which was ſent back
Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax. to his own country. Howſoever grievous this tax might be, the Engliſh chearfully contributed towards an impoſition that would be the means of freeing them from ſuch diſagreeable gueſts; and their acquieſcence in the king's pleaſure was in a good meaſure owing to their comparing the preſent tranquillity they enjoyed with the miſeries of war they had ſo lately undergone.

He makes a voyage to Denmark. Canute, having thus provided for the peace and ſecurity of the kingdom, reſolved to viſit his own country, where his preſence was neceſſary to proſecute a war which had broke out between the Danes an Vandals. He accordingly ſet ſail with a body of Engliſh troops, commanded by earl Goodwin, and accompanied by all the noblemen whom he thought the moſt likely to raiſe diſturbances in his abſence. He arrived in Denmark at a very critical conjuncture, when the Vandals had actually penetrated into his country; and taking the field without delay, advanced in order to give them battle. But during the night that preceded the day fixed for the engagement, Goodwin, at the head of the Engliſh troops, charged the enemy with ſuch impe-

impetuosity, that they were totally routed with great slaughter; and Canute in the morning found a victory before he knew any thing of a battle. This exploit endeared the English to his affection, and raised Goodwin to such a degree in his favour, that he gave him in marriage Thyra his sister-in-law, and maintained him in all the power and splendour of the ducal dignity, at a time when he strove to reduce in others that exorbitant authority, which had been wrested from the crown in times of trouble and confusion. A. C. 1020. Malmesb.

This war being happily finished, he returned to England, and henceforth made no distinction between Dane and Saxon, in the distribution of his favours. Justice was administered with the utmost impartiality, and the people enjoyed peace and affluence under his equal administration. Yet, in order to recommend himself still more warmly to the affection of his English subjects, he built churches at all the places which were distinguished by the slaughter of the Saxons during his struggle for the crown: he erected chantries, in which continual prayers were said for the souls of the slain, repaired some monasteries which had suffered by the Danes, and founded a new convent at Bury, in honour of St. Edmund, who had been murdered an hundred and fifty years before this period, by his ancestors, and was highly reverenced all over England. He convoked the states at Winchester, where Thurkytel was outlawed for having been concerned in the murder of St. Alfage; and many other popular laws were enacted. Those of Edward I. were translated into Latin for the use of Denmark; and Canute redoubled his industry in taking every step that could render him agreeable to the English nation. About this period, understanding that Anlaf or Olave king of Norway was despised and hated by his subjects, because he restrained them Malmesb. Poutan. Conciliates the affection of the English.

A. C. 1020. them from the exercise of rapine, to which they had been so long accustomed; he, in order to take advantage of their discontent, sent over large sums of money to corrupt the noblemen, and raise a strong party in his favour: but before he could bring his project to bear, his own dominions in Denmark were invaded by the Swedes. Alarmed at this attempt, he set sail for that kingdom, and engaged Ulf and Eglaf, the two Swedish generals, who defeated him in a pitched battle; so that he was fain to return that same year to England. He succeeded better, however, in his designs upon Norway, whither he sailed with a powerful fleet, and took possession of that kingdom, while Olave

A. C. 1030. fled for refuge into Sweden. About two years after this expulsion he made an attempt to recover his crown; but being deserted by part of the forces he had assembled, and overpowered by numbers,

Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun. he lost his life in the battle of Stucklastad.

As for Canute, notwithstanding all the pains he had taken to establish his authority, a conspiracy was formed against his life, by one Hacum, a Danish nobleman, who had married his niece; but it was happily discovered, and the traitor sent into banishment. This danger was succeeded by another, which had like to have been attended with very important consequences. The dukedom of Normandy having devolved to Robert, son of Richard II. he resolved to espouse the interest of his cousins Alfred and Edward, the sons of Ethelred, who still resided in that country; and actually sent ambassadors to demand of Canute the inheritance of those princes. His embassy being disregarded, he equipped a powerful fleet, in order to invade England: but his ships were so damaged and dispersed by a storm, that the enterprize miscarried; though he still continued to make preparations for a second trial. Canute being informed of his intention, and

Robert duke of Normandy demands that Canute shall do justice to Alfred and Edward.

well

well acquainted with his great power, thought proper to temporize, and make propoſals of accommodation. He even offered to reſign ſome part of Weſſex to the princes, during his own life; and found means to protract the negotiation, until Robert undertook a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. The expedition to England was therefore poſtponed till his return, which never happened, and his dukedom devolved to his baſtard ſon William, who afterwards mounted the Engliſh throne, under the name of the Conqueror. A. C. 1030.

This ſtorm being blown over, Canute devoted his chief attention to works of piety · and as he had founded his power in blood, he ſet out on a journey to Rome, where he hoped to obtain a full abſolution for all his ſins. Even in the execution of this religious ſcheme, he did not forget the intereſt of his people, but purchaſed an exemption from toll and duties in favour of the Engliſh merchants and pilgrims, through all the dominions that lay in his way. He likewiſe obtained from the pope ſome privileges for the Engliſh college in Rome, and a mitigation of the expence incurred by metropolitans in the article of the pall, as well as certain favours and immunities for the pilgrims of his country, who went to viſit the tombs of the apoſtles. Having made ſumptuous preſents to his holineſs and the churches of that capital, he returned by the way of Denmark, and on the road ſent Livignus, abbot of Taviſtock, the companion of his travels, with a letter to the Engliſh nobility, exhorting all ſheriffs and magiſtrates to adminiſter juſtice impartially, in particular to protect the poor from oppreſſion; and ſee the church-dues regularly paid to the clergy. Nor did his conduct belye his profeſſions; for, when he arrived in England, he ordered all the Saxon laws to be inviolably obſerved; forbad markets, fairs, and other ſecular aſſemblies on

A. C. 1032. Canute makes a journey to Rome.

A. C. 1031. Malmesb. Sunday, and enjoined all christians to come thrice a year and receive the eucharist.

Advances against Malcolm king of Scotland. The last military expedition he undertook was against Malcolm II. king of Scotland, who, while he possessed the county of Cumberland as heir apparent to the Scottish throne, had refused to contribute towards the Danegelt raised by Ethelred; and bravely replied, that he was ready to pay the enemy with steel but not with silver. This answer incensed Ethelred to such a degree, that he employed against him the armament which had been prepared against the Danes, in wasting the county of Cumberland; but, that quarrel was compromised. When the Danes over-ran England, Malcolm refused to do homage or pay tribute to their kings, whom he considered as usurpers; and he had defeated divers armies of that kingdom, who had landed in Scotland with their families, to make settlements in the country: at length a peace had been concluded between him and Canute, which was inviolably preserved by the Dane till such time as he found it convenient to forget the articles. Malcolm's grandson Duncan, a prince of slender abilities, was now prince of Cumberland, as heir apparent of the Scottish crown; and he refusing to pay homage to Canute, the Danish king, after his pilgrimage to Rome, assembled an army, in order to reduce Cumberland by force of arms. Malcolm, in behalf of his grandson, advanced with his army to give him battle, and a furious engagement would have ensued, had not the prelates and noblemen of both armies interposed their mediation, and effected a peace; by which it was agreed, that Duncan from the time being, and all his successors princes of Scotland, should hold Cumberland according to the original tenour, and do homage for that fief to Canute and his successors kings of England.

Fordun. Malmesb.

After

A. C. 1035. Canute dies.

After this accommodation, Canute met with nothing to disturb his tranquillity. From his conquests he derived the surname of Great; but he merited that epithet much more by the virtues he manifested during the pacific period of his administration. Though he had shed an ocean of blood, and trampled under foot all laws divine and human, in making his way to the throne, he was no sooner established in the regal authority, than he seemed to change his disposition, and became conspicuous for his justice, piety, and moderation, so as to acquire the love of his subjects and the esteem of mankind *. In this happy situation, he lived several years, and at length resigned his being at Shaftesbury, in the nineteenth year of his reign, leaving by his first wife, who was daughter to the earl of Northampton, two sons called Swein and Harold; and by Emma, who survived him, another named Hardicnute, and a daughter called Gunilda, who was married to Henry III. emperor of Germany.

* Huntingdon relates an instance of his behaviour in private life, which argued his good sense and abhorrence of flattery. One day, while he walked on the sea-shore, accompanied by his courtiers, who offered the grossest incense of adulation, and even compared his power to that of the Deity, he ordered a chair to be placed upon the beach, while the tide was making; and sitting down, commanded the sea to retire: but being in a little time surrounded with water, he rose up and chid his flatterers for having bestowed upon him those encomiums which were due to God alone. From that moment he never would wear the crown, but ordered it to be placed upon the head of a crucifix in the church of Winchester.

HAROLD I.

A. C. 1035. Partition of the kingdom between Harold and Hardicnute.

CANUTE, before his death, had eſtabliſhed his ſon Hardicnute on the throne of Denmark, and given Norway to Swein; but, as he had not mentioned a ſucceſſor for the kingdom of England, a conteſt enſued among his children, and the Engliſh prelates and nobility were divided into three parties. But the chief diſpute lay between the partizans of Harold and Hardicnute; the firſt was eſpouſed by all the Danes ſettled in England, while the Engliſh declared for Hardicnute as the ſon of Emma. The contention was carried on with ſuch heat, that a civil war had well nigh been the conſequence; but, at laſt it was terminated by an agreement, importing that the country to the northward of the Thames ſhould belong to Harold, and Hardicnute poſſeſs all the reſt of the kingdom; and that, as this laſt was abſent in Denmark, his mother Emma ſhould reſide in Wincheſter as regent of the Weſt-Saxons, and govern the kingdom for her ſon by the direction of earl Goodwin, who was at the head of the Engliſh nobility. Harold, perceiving that this nobleman acted with unbounded authority and influence, as adminiſtrator of his brother's kingdom, reſolved to bring him over to his intereſt; and ſucceeded in the attempt by means which are eaſily conceived, when we know that Harold had ſeized all his father's treaſure.

Ingulph. Emma. Enc.

Goodwin's intrigues in favour of Harold.

Goodwin, being thus engaged in his cauſe, managed his talents for intrigue with ſuch addreſs among the Weſt-Saxons, that they looked upon themſelves as neglected by Hardicnute, and began to turn their eyes upon his brother Harold. Emma, being informed of theſe tranſactions, and finding herſelf incapable of ſupporting the intereſt of

of Hardicnute, had recourſe to diſſimulation, and affected to withdraw herſelf intirely from worldly affairs, viſiting churches and monaſteries, and employing all her time in exerciſes of devotion. By this conduct, ſhe thought ſhe had effectually lulled the ſuſpicion of Goodwin, who, though he ſtill governed the kingdom, in the name of Hardicnute, employed all his arts in private to ſtrengthen the intereſt of Harold. Her deſign was to bring over the ſons of Ethelred from Normandy, on pretence of a viſit to their mother, in hope that the affection of the Engliſh would, by their preſence, revive in favour of the race of Cerdic. When ſhe expreſſed a deſire of ſeeing her children, Goodwin immediately perceived her drift, and gladly conſented to gratify her intention, with a view to recommend himſelf ſtill more ſtrongly to Harold by the murder of thoſe princes. Emma, who little dreamed of any ſuch inhuman deſign, wrote a letter of invitation to her ſons, whom ſhe encouraged with the hope of recovering their inheritance; and they accordingly arrived with a train of a thouſand Normans. A. C. 1035.

The tragical death of prince Alfred.

The hearts of the Engliſh were warmed by the appearance of thoſe princes, deſcended from their own glorious monarchs, whoſe memory they held in the utmoſt veneration; and they received them with ſuch cordiality as alarmed the traitor Goodwin, who therefore haſtened the execution of his treacherous deſign. He had ſeemingly been the moſt eager of all the noblemen in doing honour to the ſons of Emma; but that princeſs, whoſe maternal fondneſs rendered her wary and circumſpect, never allowed them to viſit together, but ſtill retained the one under her own eye, while the other was entertained by the noblemen in the country. Goodwin, finding it impracticable to entangle them both at once in his ſnare, reſolved to perpetrate his treaſon upon Alfred the eldeſt, whom

A. C. 1035. he arreſted with all his followers in the caſtle of Guilford, by virtue of Harold's order. Upon this occaſion he is ſaid to have tampered with the prince, by offering him his intereſt, on condition he would marry his daughter; and that Alfred having rejected the propoſal with ſome expreſſions of diſdain, he was ſo incenſed at the affront, that he ordered the unhappy prince's eyes to be put out, and maſſacred ſix hundred Normans, by whom he was attended. He then conveyed him to Ely, where he was confined to a monaſtery, in which he languiſhed for ſome time in miſery and pain, and then expired. Edward, being apprized of his brother's fate, was by the care of his mother ſent privately back to Normandy; and Goodwin finding himſelf hampered in the execution of his ſchemes, by the preſence of this ambitious and intriguing princeſs, found means to impeach and convict her of treaſonable practices againſt the ſtate; ſo that ſhe was baniſhed from the kingdom, and took refuge with Baldwin earl of Flanders, who generouſly aſſigned the city of Bruges for her abode and ſubſiſtence.

Brompton.

The kingdom united under Harold.

Goodwin, being now abſolute maſter in the kingdom of Weſſex, and Hardicnute ſtill delaying his departure from Denmark, that infamous miniſter ſurrendered his power into the hands of Harold, who was proclaimed and crowned king of all England. This prince, who was ſurnamed Harefoot from his agility, no ſooner mounted the throne than he laid a tax upon the people for the equipment of a navy to prevent invaſions; and in all probability this impoſition would not have produced ſo much diſcontent, had it not been intended to prevent the ſucceſs of Edward, whom the Engliſh conſidered as the true heir to the crown. Not but that the ſon of Edmund reſiding in Hungary had the advantage over him in proximity of blood,

yet he was at too great a distance to have any correspondence or party in the kingdom; and indeed the English would have elected any prince of the most slender pretensions, rather than be governed by Harold, whose brutal character they detested, and whose authority was founded intirely on the interest of Goodwin and his associates. Normandy was too much divided during the minority of William to afford any considerable succours to Edward, whose genius was by no means enterprising; and therefore the English had recourse to Hardicnute, their countryman by birth, whom they conjured to come and take possession of the throne, promising to support his claim with their lives and fortunes. That prince seemed at length to wake from his lethargy, and fitting out a fleet of sixty ships, set sail on pretence of visiting his mother at Bruges, where while he resided, he was blessed with the news of Harold's death. A. C. 1035. Angl. Sac. A. C. 1040.

HARDICNUTE.

THE Danes as well as English unanimously joined in making a tender of the crown to Hardicnute, who, at his arrival in England, was received with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy, and earl Goodwin distinguished himself as the first nobleman who did him homage. The ceremony of his coronation was scarce performed, when, impatient to give his mother a convincing proof of the detestation in which he held his brother Harold, by whose order her son Alfred had been destroyed, he ordered the body of the deceased king to be dug up, decapitated, and thrown into the Thames, where it was found by some fishermen, and privately interred in the church-yard of St. Clement, which was the Danish burying-ground. Hardicnute succeeds to the throne.

A. C. 1040. Hardicnute's next act of ſovereignty was the impoſition of a grievous tax for the payment of his navy, which was the more intolerable as the nation was threatened with a famine. This meaſure produced univerſal murmurs through the whole kingdom; and the inhabitants of Worceſter raiſed an inſurrection, in which two of the collectors loſt their lives. The king, being informed of this outrage, ordered Goodwin duke of Weſſex, Leoffric duke of Mercia, and Siward count of Northumberland, to aſſemble a body of forces, and revenge the inſult, by deſtroying the town, and exterminating the inhabitants; an order which was literally obeyed. Theſe were marks of a cruel diſpoſition; though it muſt be owned that Hardicnute was a pious ſon, and an affectionate brother to Edward, whom he invited to his court, and entertained with the moſt cordial hoſpitality. It was alſo at this juncture that he celebrated the nuptials of his ſiſter and Henry III. emperor of Germany, with incredible magnificence; though that lady found herſelf extremely unhappy, from the jealouſy of her huſband, and afterwards obtained a divorce.

Sim. Dun.

By this time the Norman intereſt triumphed at the Engliſh court, in the preſence of Edward and the intereſt of Emma, who had not yet forgot the tragical death of her eldeſt ſon. It was doubtleſs with a view to gratify her reſentment, and pay court to Edward, who would in all probability one day mount the throne, that Alfric archbiſhop of York accuſed Goodwin of being an accomplice in the murder of prince Alfred; and Edward demanded juſtice accordingly. Goodwin found means to evade the danger of this impeachment, by appealing to the avarice of the king, whom he preſented with a magnificent galley curiouſly carved and gilded, and manned with eighty ſoldiers, caſed in rich armour, with magnificent ſwords and lances, and each of them a golden bracelet, weighing ſixteen ounces,

on

on his arm. By virtue of this preſent, he was permitted to purge himſelf by oath, and readily ſwore he had no hand in the death of Alfred. A. C. 1040. Sim. Dun.

Hardicnute did not long enjoy the crown, which indeed he was unworthy to wear. He was a ſlave to all his paſſions, and particularly addicted to feaſting and drinking, which he indulged to beaſtly exceſs. Theſe debauches at laſt coſt him his life; for he died ſuddenly in conſequence of over-eating himſelf at the wedding of a Daniſh lord, celebrated at Lambeth; and his death, far from being regretted, became the ſubject of mirth to the Engliſh, who diſtinguiſhed the anniverſary of it by the name of Hock Holiday. Hardicnute dies ſuddenly. A. C. 1041. G. Malmeſ.

EDWARD III.

Surnamed the CONFESSOR.

EDWARD, who chanced to be in England at the time of Hardicnute's death, was adviſed by his friends to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of Goodwin, who alone was able to ſupport or defeat his pretenſions. By this time indeed, Goodwin had engroſſed ſuch power and influence in the kingdom, as no ſubject had ever poſſeſſed. Beſides the dignities of duke of Weſſex, earl of Kent, and high treaſurer, veſted in his own perſon, his eldeſt ſon enjoyed the governments of Oxfordſhire and Herefordſhire; and his great wealth, intereſt, and alliances, had rendered him more than a match for any faction that could be raiſed to oppoſe his deſigns. It was therefore a ſalutary advice, in purſuance of which Edward, who a few months before had proſecuted him for the murder of his bro- Edward ſollicits the intereſt of Goodwin.

A. C. 1043. ther, now ſollicited his intereſt in the moſt humble ſupplications, and promiſed to be entirely ruled by his directions. Upon theſe terms Goodwin eſpouſed his cauſe; and after having obtained his promiſe that he would marry his daughter Egitha, employed his intereſt ſo effectually in his behalf, that he was proclaimed king of England, and crowned by Edſi, archbiſhop of Canterbury. What facilitated this event, was the national hatred between the Engliſh and Danes, which at this time was increaſed to an implacable degree of rancour, by the inſolence of Hardicnute's followers, who had committed ſuch outrages of all ſorts, that the people were no ſooner appriſed of the king's death, than they took to their arms, and butchered or expelled all the Danes who had accompanied him to England. Goodwin ſeized this favourable opportunity of convoking an aſſembly of the ſtates, in which with an eloquence peculiar to himſelf, he expatiated on the miſeries which that people had entailed upon the nation; and when their minds were properly warmed, he preſented Edward, as a deſcendant of their ancient kings, whoſe claim would be ſupported by the whole power of Normandy.

Flor. Wig. Hoveden.

Gul. Pict.

His remonſtrances had the deſired effect, and united all the ſuffrages in favour of Edward ſurnamed the Confeſſor, a prince of very mean parts, who had neither capacity to rule, nor reſolution to maintain his authority. His continual attachment to trifles, his want of diſcernment, and timorous diſpoſition, enabled his officers and domeſtics to impoſe upon his weakneſs, and encouraged the governors of provinces to render themſelves abſolute and independent. Earl Goodwin in particular, gradually uſurped ſuch a ſhare of power and authority, that he was more conſidered than the king himſelf; and no doubt, the narrowneſs of the king's genius

By whoſe intereſt he is crowned.

genius was one of the concurring motives which induced him to support his claim; because he knew his own credit would rise in proportion to the incapacity of Edward, under whose name he accordingly managed the whole kingdom. Not but that Edward hated Goodwin in his heart, both as the murderer of his brother, and the controuler of his own authority; and this doubtless was the cause of his aversion to the accomplished Egitha, whom he delayed to wed, under various pretences, until he durst no longer defer the performance of his promise, lest he should incur the resentment of her father: and even after the nuptials were solemnized, he never consummated the marriage. As he had not courage enough to avow his sentiments, he affected to heap favours on his father-in-law; and this impolitic dissimulation increased the power and credit of Goodwin, by convincing the people that he was beloved by his sovereign

A. C. 1043.

G. Malmes.

Edward, notwithstanding his titles of Saint and Confessor, which he acquired by his attention to the formalities of religion, was a stranger to the christian virtues of charity and forgiveness, as well as to that natural affection which usually springs from the ties of blood. He had entertained a grudge against his mother, since the day she espoused her second husband; and all the efforts she made in the sequel to raise him to the throne, and screen him from the practices of his enemies, had not been able to destroy the impression, or even conquer his desire of revenge, which he now resolved to gratify. Without paying the least regard to her quality, he repaired to Winchester, where she resided, and, stripping her of all her treasures and effects, left her nothing but a very moderate pension for her subsistence; so that, in her old age, this daughter of a prince, and widow of two great kings, was reduced to extreme poverty, by the cruelty

His cruelty to his mother Emma.

A. C. 1043. cruelty of her own ſon. Edward was not yet ſatisfied with the unnatural vengeance he had taken; but afterwards is ſaid to have ordered her to be tried, for having carried on a ſcandalous commerce with Alwin, biſhop of Wincheſter. Robert the Norman, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, was her accuſer; and as he could not prove his allegations by evidence, he inſiſted upon her proving her innocence by undergoing the fiery ordeal. She accordingly walked blindfold, over twelve burning plowſhares, without being hurt, to the aſtoniſhment of a multitude of ſpectators.

Camden, Dorſet.

Swein loſes the kingdom of Norway.

In the midſt of theſe laudable avocations, Edward was alarmed with an account of mighty preparations making by Swein, king of Norway and Denmark, to aſſert his title to the crown of England, in right of his father Canute. The country was immediately put in a poſture of defence, by the care of earl Goodwin, aſſiſted with the endeavours of Leoffric duke of Mercia, and Siward earl of Northumberland; and Gunilda, niece of Canute the Great, was obliged to abandon her family and leave the kingdom, leſt ſhe ſhould hatch ſome conſpiracy in favour of her countrymen. But, this cloud was diſpelled by a war that broke out between Swein and Magnus, ſon of Anlaf, late king of Norway; in conſequence of which rupture Swein's armament was otherwiſe employed. Magnus not only recovered the crown of his father, now known by the name of St. Olave, but afterwards invaded Denmark; ſo that Swein was fain to ſollicit the king of England for ſuccour. Goodwin adviſed Edward to ſend fifty ſhips to his aſſiſtance; but this propoſal was ſo warmly oppoſed in council by Leoffric and Siward, that no ſtep was taken in favour of Swein, who was driven from his kingdom, though he recovered his throne after the death of his enemy. The troubles of Denmark, how-

Sim. Dunelm.

however, did not hinder the pyrates of that country from infesting the English coasts. A body of these adventurers arrived at Sandwich, in five and twenty vessels, and ravaged the country, from whence they not only carried off the plunder which they found, but even the people themselves, whom they sold as slaves in foreign markets. They afterwards cruised upon the coast of Essex, pillaging the country, and spreading terror and consternation wheresoever they moved, until earl Goodwin, and the other two noblemen above-mentioned, assembled a body of forces, and repulsed them to their ships with great consternation. A. C. 1043.

These enemies had no sooner disappeared, than another adventurer alarmed the coast. This was no other than Goodwin's son Swein, who had been obliged to leave the kingdom for having carried off an abbess, of whom he was enamoured. He had retired to Denmark, in full confidence of obtaining his pardon, through the interception of his father; but whether Goodwin was willing that his son should suffer for the offence he had committed, or the king was inexorable with regard to an outrage offered to religion, the young count found himself disappointed in his expectation; and resolved to be revenged on his country for the inflexibility of the king. With this view he equipped eight vessels, and committed depredations on the English merchants and the coasts of the kingdom, which he plundered and burned without mercy. Goodwin fearing that these violences might incense the king against him and his family, and furnish a handle to his enemies, prevailed upon count Beorn, son of Ulphon, by Estritha, sister to Canute the Great, to employ his good offices with Edward, in favour of his rebellious son; and that nobleman obtained his pardon upon certain conditions. Then he repaired to Swein, in order to make him acquainted

A. C. 1046. Depredations committed by Swein, the son of Goodwin.

A. C. 1046. quainted with the ſucceſs of his negotiation, and perſuade him to ſubmit to the king's pleaſure; when that brutal pyrate, ſuppoſing the count's intention was to betray him into the hands of juſtice, ſlew his benefactor with his own hand, and ordered his body to be thrown into the ſea. This barbarous murder retarded the accommodation; but the king afterwards pardoned the ruffian, notwithſtanding the complication of his crimes; ſo much was he afraid of incurring the diſpleaſure of Goodwin. Indeed there was another reaſon which concurred with this motive for taking off the outlawry of Swein at this juncture: another fleet of Daniſh freebooters had arrived on the coaſt, and were actually joined by the traitor's ſquadron; which reinforcement rendered them ſo formidable to England, that it was no wonder Edward uſed this expedient for weakening their power.

Rog. de Hov.

Edward's partiality to the Normans.

No part of Edward's conduct gave more offence to the Engliſh noblemen, than his partiality in favour of the natives and cuſtoms of Normandy, where he had been educated. The Norman language became ſo faſhionable at his court, that it was ſpoke by every perſon who ſtudied to inſinuate himſelf into the king's good graces. The government of ſeveral important fortreſſes, and many poſts of great honour and advantage, were beſtowed on thoſe foreigners; and ſome of their eccleſiaſtics were preferred to Engliſh biſhoprics. Among theſe was Robert, a monk of Jumieges, firſt elected biſhop of London, and then tranſlated to the ſee of Canterbury. This prelate, with ſome learning, poſſeſſed a great fund of cunning and inſinuation, by which he gained an aſcendancy over Edward, and counterballanced the credit of Goodwin, who loudly complained of being miſrepreſented to the king by the meddling prieſt, and reſolved with the firſt opportunity to deprive his majeſty of ſuch an officious

cious counſellor. In a word, theſe two courtiers hated one another with the utmoſt rancour, and each in ſecret projected plans for the deſtruction of his rival; when an accident happened which reduced the earl to the brink of ruin, and furniſhed the king with an opportunity of manifeſting his hatred to that inſolent nobleman. A. C. 1046. Ingulph.

Euſtace, count of Boulogne, who had married Edward's ſiſter Goda, arrived in England to viſit his brother-in-law, who received him with great honour and affection; and having tarried ſome days at his court, ſet out for Dover in his return to France. A ſervant, whom he had diſpatched before him to beſpeak lodgings in that city, happened to quarrel with the townſmen, and a fray enſued, in which he loſt his life. The count and his attendants attempting to revenge his death, the inhabitants took arms: and both ſides engaging with great fury, Euſtace and his retinue were obliged to retire, after having loſt about twenty of their company, and ſlain an equal number of the Engliſh. The count, exaſperated at this inſult, returned to the court at Glouceſter, and demanded juſtice of the king, who forthwith ordered Goodwin, in whoſe government the tumult happened, to march with a body of troops, and chaſtiſe the offenders with fire and ſword. A. C. 1051. Euſtace, count of Boulogne, inſulted by the inhabitants of Dover.

The earl, thinking he had now found an opportunity of recommending himſelf to the Engliſh nation, and of being revenged on the Norman archbiſhop at the ſame time, flatly refuſed to obey the king's command; obſerving that the Engliſh were not uſed to be condemned unheard; and that the equitable way of terminating this affair would be a legal trial, in conſequence of which the guilty might be puniſhed by law, that, as earl of Kent, it was his duty to protect the people whom he was ordered to puniſh; and that the reſiſtance they had made Goodwin's inſolence to the king.

A. C. 1051. made was in their own defence, againſt an inſolent foreigner, who ought to be ſurrendered to juſtice, and ſuffer for the miſchief he had done. Edward, though ſhocked at this audacious remonſtrance, diſſembled his wrath, becauſe he wanted the ſinews of vengeance: the archbiſhop and his Norman friends did not fail to blow the flame of his reſentment; but they were in no condition to ſupport him againſt the power and intereſt of Goodwin, ſhould he come to an open rupture with that nobleman. He therefore diſpatched emiſſaries, in whom he could confide, to duke Leoffric, and count Siward, to inform them of Goodwin's inſolence, and deſire their immediate preſence and aſſiſtance, to humble the pride and preſumption of that dangerous ſubject, who dared to brave the royal authority.

He raiſes an army and threatens Edward.

This ſtep was not taken ſo ſecretly, but that it reached the ears of Goodwin, who reſolved to be beforehand with the king; and with the aſſiſtance of his ſons raiſed a ſtrong body of forces, on pretence of marching againſt the Welſh, who had erected a petty fort on the frontiers of Herefordſhire. Having thus anticipated Edward, he pulled off the maſk, and ſent deputies to that prince, demanding that he would without delay deliver up Euſtace and his attendants to juſtice, and expel all the Normans from the kingdom; otherwiſe he would proſecute him with all the rigour of war. Edward, by this time, backed by the Mercian and Northumbrian forces, made a ſuitable reply to this treaſonable declaration; and a civil war muſt have been the conſequence, had not Siward and Leoffric prevented matters from being brought to extremity, and ſet on foot a negotiation, by which it was agreed that the diſputes ſhould be judicially determined before the aſſembly of the ſtates at London. Mean while Edward's army was reinforced from

from different quarters by all the nobility who hated Goodwin; and at the appointed time the earl's two ſons marched to Southwark with a numerous body of Weſt-Saxons; but their men deſerting continually, they retired before the determination of their cauſe, and Goodwin and his five ſons were condemned to baniſhment. A.C. 1051. Goodwin is baniſhed.

The earl himſelf, with Swein and Toſton, retired to Flanders, while Harold and Leofwin took refuge in Ireland; and Edward, in order to ſatiate his revenge upon the whole family, not only beſtowed their honours and employments upon other noblemen, but alſo confined the queen in the monaſtery of Warewell, after having ſtripped her of all her jewels and effects. Goodwin and his ſons did not tamely bear their exile and diſgrace; but finding means to equip a good number of ſhips at Bruges as well as in Ireland, their ſquadrons joined near Portland, and, ſailing along ſhore, were reinforced all the way by ſoldiers from the country, and ſhips from the Cinque-ports, until entering the Thames, they advanced to London, where the king was provided with a ſtrong fleet and army for their reception. Invades England with a ſtrong fleet.

But both ſides conſiſting of Engliſh, they were unwilling to imbrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen; and the biſhops and nobility again interpoſing, effected an accommodation. Goodwin and his ſons obliged themſelves to give hoſtages, to be kept in Normandy as pledges for their good behaviour, in conſideration of being reſtored to their honours and eſtates; and the king conſented that all foreigners ſhould be expelled the kingdom. To this article Edward aſſented with great reluctance, at the preſſing intreaties of Stigand biſhop of Wincheſter, who, in a very little time, reaped the happy fruits of his ſucceſs: for, immediately after this agreement, Robert archbiſhop of Canterbury retired An accommodation effected.

A. C. 1052. tired to Normandy; and, being baniſhed by a ſentence of the general aſſembly of the ſtates, as an incendiary and principal cauſe of the late troubles, Stigand was promoted to his ſee. The queen was honourably releaſed from her confinement: Goodwin was formally impeached by the king for the murder of his brother Alfred, and acquitted; his family were reſtored to all their dignities, and the earl became more powerful than ever. Swein, however, the moſt profligate libertine of his age, in order to expiate his guilt in the treacherous murder of his kinſman Beorn, undertook the voluntary penance of going barefoot as a pilgrim to the Holy Land, and was ſlain in his return by the Saracens.

Malmeſb. Ann. Sax.

Edward viſited by William, duke of Normandy.

The tranquillity of England being reſtored by this reconciliation, the king was viſited by William the Baſtard, duke of Normandy; during whoſe reſidence at the Engliſh court Edward took all opportunities of manifeſting his gratitude for the favours and protection he owed to that prince in his adverſity. It muſt have been at this juncture, that he made his will in favour of William, if any ſuch deed ever exiſted; for it cannot be ſuppoſed to have been made during his reſidence in the Norman court, while his elder brother Alfred was alive, and the throne of England occupied, ſo that he muſt have had a very faint proſpect of ſucceeding to the crown; it is not all unlikely that Edward, who had no iſſue of his own, and very little affection for Edgar Atheling, the grandſon of Edmund Ironſide, and who in his heart deteſted Goodwin, ſhould bequeath his throne to an active prince, his friend and kinſman, who would prevent its falling a prey to the exorbitant power of that haughty nobleman; yet no ſuch will was ever produced, although William made it a pretence for ſeizing the Engliſh crown.

A. C. 1053.

Good-

Goodwin's power increaſed every day to ſuch a degree that his arrogance became quite inſupportable, and the more grievous to Edward, as he had found means to baniſh from court every perſon in whom that weak prince repoſed the leaſt confidence. This tyranny however at laſt expired with the life of that imperious nobleman, who was ſuddenly deprived of the faculty of ſpeech as he ſat at dinner with the king at the palace of Oldiham; and being carried into an apartment of the palace, died in three days, during which he continued ſpeechleſs and inſenſible. This was probably no other than an apoplectic fit, the effect of age and infirmity; though the monkiſh writers imputed it to the judgment of heaven, affirming that the king having dropped ſome hint of ſuſpicion againſt the earl as an accomplice in the murder of Alfred, Goodwin exclaimed, "May this morſel be my laſt, if I was "in any way acceſſary to the death of that prince." So ſaying, he endeavoured to ſwallow it, and was choaked. Thus died the moſt powerful ſubject that ever England ſaw. He was ſucceeded in all his honours and employments, including the ſtewardſhip of the houſhold and governments of Kent, Suſſex, and the Weſt-Saxons, by his ſon Harold, who was obliged to reſign his own government of the Eaſt-Saxons and Angles, to Algar the ſon of Leoffric. Thus, though Goodwin was no more, his power, intereſt, credit, and connexions, ſtill ſurvived in the perſon of Harold, who was not ſo proud, inſolent, and haughty, as his father, and behaved to the king with appearance of reſpect and ſubmiſſion. By this conduct he hoped to efface the impreſſions of hatred which the king preſerved againſt his family: but, nothing could conciliate the affection of Edward, who deteſted the ſon as much as he had ever hated the father, and dreaded him more, becauſe Harold had made himſelf more

A. C. 1053. Goodwin dies ſuddenly.

Flor. Wig.

A.C. 1054. Ingulph. Chron. Peterb.

A. C. 1054. popular by his honeſt dealing and affability; for the ſame reaſon the king ſtill wore the maſk of diſſimulation.

Siward, count of Northumberland, defeats Macbeth.

Timorous as this prince was in his diſpoſition, he found himſelf ſo far happy, that his dominions were not expoſed to the calamities of war, though he was not a little alarmed about this period, by Macbeth, uſurper of the Scottiſh crown, who threatened to invade Cumberland. That bloody tyrant had murdered his lawful king Duncan, who had loaded him with favours, and now wanted to deſtroy that prince's ſon Malcolm Canmore, who poſſeſſed Cumberland, as eldeſt ſon and heir apparent of the king of Scotland. Macbeth having rendered himſelf odious to his ſubjects by his cruelty and oppreſſion, the greateſt part of the nobility ſollicited Malcolm in ſecret, to march againſt the uſurper, and promiſed to declare for him as ſoon as he ſhould croſs the borders of the kingdom. This young prince had recourſe to Edward, who ſupplied him with a ſtrong body of forces, commanded by Siward earl of Northumberland; and they advanced againſt the uſurper, who gave them battle, and was defeated after a very deſperate engagement, in which Oſborn the ſon of Siward loſt his life. When the count underſtood that he was ſlain, he aſked if his wounds were before; and being anſwered in the affirmative, "Well then "(ſaid he) I can give him a ſoldier's burial." Macbeth after this action retired to the Highlands, where he was deſerted by his ſubjects, and at laſt taken and ſlain; ſo that Malcolm aſcended his

A. C. 1055. father's throne, without further oppoſition. Siward did not long ſurvive this glorious expedition; he was that year ſeized with a diſtemper at York, which reduced him to the grave. When he found his end approaching, he called for his armour, which being buckled on, he ſaid, "Thus ſhould

"a

"a ſoldier die," and expired, as he ſtood upright, ſupported by his attendants. A. C. 1055. Flor. Wig.

His government was beſtowed upon Harold's brother Toſton, by which the family of Goodwin gained a great acceſſion of power; though Harold, not yet ſatisfied with his good fortune, projected the ruin of his own brother-in-law Alfgar, becauſe he reſented the king's conferring upon that nobleman the offices which he had formerly poſſeſſed. Alfgar's heat and indiſcretion laid him open to the ſnares of Harold, by whoſe emiſſaries he was accuſed of holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the Welſh, and by a ſentence of the ſtates baniſhed the kingdom. He retired into Ireland, where he found means to raiſe a body of forces, which he tranſported into Wales, where he was joined by Griffith prince of that country; and theſe aſſociates, making an irruption into Herefordſhire, defeated Raoul de Mantes, governor of that county: but they were afterwards routed by Harold, who of his own accord had aſſembled his vaſſals to check their progreſs. Upon this occaſion he acted with great generoſity, and employed his whole credit in procuring the pardon of Alfgar, who being reſtored to his eſtate and honours, was ever after firmly attached to the intereſt of his brother-in-law. Alfgar is baniſhed, and makes a deſcent upon England. Ingulph. Sim. Dun. A. C. 1056.

Harold's behaviour in this expedition, added to his inſinuating manners, extended and increaſed his popularity to ſuch a degree, that the people began already to talk of him as the moſt proper perſon to ſucceed the king upon the throne of England. Edward, aroused at theſe ſuggeſtions, and abhorring the thoughts of a ſucceſſor from the family of Goodwin, ſent for his nephew Edward from Hungary, and that prince arrived in England with his ſon Edgar Atheling, and his daughters Margaret and Chriſtina. The appearance of a ſon of their Prince Edward arrives with his family from Hungary.

A. C. 1056. beloved Edmund Ironſide, detached the Engliſh intirely from the intereſt of Harold, and united all their affection in favour of their own royal line; but prince Edward died ſoon after his arrival, leaving his pretenſions to his ſon Edgar, who was too young, weak, and inactive, to avail himſelf of his title. The ſame year was diſtinguiſhed by the death of Leoffric duke of Mercia, who was a nobleman poſſeſſed of many excellent qualities *, and by his fidelity to Edward had ſerved as a counterpoiſe to the power and ambition of Goodwin's family. He was ſucceeded in his dukedom by his ſon Alfgar, through the intereſt of Harold, whoſe hopes of aſcending the throne were now revived by the death of prince Edward.

Harold viſits the duke of Normandy.

Whether this nobleman was deſirous of engaging William duke of Normandy in his intereſt, not knowing the private agreement between king Edward and that duke, or that he wanted to effect the releaſe of his brother Ulnoth and his nephew Hacun, who had been delivered as hoſtages for his father's good behaviour, and ſent into Normandy, where they ſtill reſided; he reſolved to make a voyage to the continent, and aſked the king's permiſſion to ſollicit the duke in perſon for the liberty of his relations, whom, as Edward pretended, he had refuſed to releaſe. The king, though inceſſantly importuned on this ſubject, lent

* No lady of the age was more celebrated for her beauty and virtue, than this nobleman's wife Godina, of whom it is reported, that in order to redeem the inhabitants of Coventry from a tax impoſed by her huſband, ſhe undertook to ride naked through the city; ſuch being the condition of their exemption, ſtipulated by the caprice of her lord. Accordingly, having firſt forbid the inhabitants on pain of death to look at her in this proceſſion, ſhe mounted a horſe, and rode through the town with no other covering than her long hair: one perſon was inſtigated by his curioſity to have a peep, for which he was immediately ſtruck dead with lightening; and in memory of this event the citizens ſtill retain a kind of ſtatue on the ſpot, in the attitude of peeping.

a deaf ear to his intreaties, becauſe he was afraid that Harold would, in a perſonal interview with William, diſcover the agreement he had made with that prince, relating to the ſucceſſion, and embroil him with his own ſubjects at his return. Harold, finding the king inflexible, reſolved to take that liberty which Edward would not grant, and embarked for Rouen, without giving the king the leaſt intimation of his deſign; but he was driven by ſtreſs of weather into one of the ports of Picardy, and immediately arreſted by order of the count de Ponthieu. In this emergency he wrote an account of his misfortunes to William duke of Normandy, who demanded him from the count in ſuch a peremptory manner, that he was ſet at liberty, and proceeded to Rouen, where he was received with great hoſpitality; though the duke reſolved to make his advantage of this viſit. He took occaſion to communicate to Harold his deſigns upon the crown of England, and the ſecret contract between Edward and him upon that ſubject; and as he was not ignorant of Harold's views, gave him to underſtand that he expected he would reſign his pretenſions. The earl, who had never ſuſpected any ſuch colluſion between the king and the duke, finding himſelf in the power of the latter, thought proper to diſſemble his ſentiments; and after having owned with an appearance of candour, that he had once entertained ſuch views before the arrival of prince Edward from Hungary, now faithfully promiſed to contribute his whole intereſt in behalf of William, whoſe daughter he demanded in marriage, as a proof of his attachment. The duke was extremely well pleaſed with his frank manner of deportment, though he obliged him to confirm his promiſe by oath, in preſence of the ſtates of Normandy and ſome holy relics, by which he imagined the obligation was rendered A. C. 1056.

A. C. 1056. inviolable: then he was betrothed to William's daughter, who was too young for the conſummation of marriage, and they parted to all appearance extremely well ſatisfied with one another.

He no ſooner returned to England, however, than he forgot his oath, and redoubled his endeavours to baffle the deſigns of William, by taking all opportunities of increaſing the national prejudice againſt the Normans; of ſtrengthening his own party among the nobles; and of recommending himſelf more and more to the favour and affection of the people: while Edward, who plainly perceived his aim, took no pains to counteract his projects, having no connexions that he valued above his own peace and tranquillity, which he determined if poſſible to preſerve.

Sim. Dun. M. Weſt.

Reduces the Welſh.

Immediately after this tranſaction, Harold had occaſion to fortify himſelf in the eſteem of the Engliſh, by repelling the Welſh, who had renewed hoſtilities under their prince Griffith, and rendering them tributary to the crown of England. Nevertheleſs they ſeized the firſt opportunity of repeating their incurſions; and after having ravaged the country, retired with their booty to mountains and faſtneſſes, which they deemed inacceſſible to heavy-armed ſoldiers. Harold, ſeeing no end to theſe depredations, but in the deſtruction of the whole race, marched againſt them with a body of light-armed troops, which purſued them among their hills and ferretted them out of their retreats, while his cavalry ſcoured the plain country; ſo that the enemy finding themſelves in danger of being utterly exterminated, ſlew their gallant prince Griffith, and ſent his head to Harold, as a token of their ſubmiſſion: upon which they were forgiven, and acknowledged the authority of Blethyh and Raywallon, whom Edward appointed to rule over them.

Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun.

No

Nor was Harold's equity and moderation leſs conſpicuous than his martial accompliſhments. His brother Toſton, count of Northumberland, having been expelled from his government by the people whom he had grievouſly oppreſſed, Harold was ordered to re-eſtabliſh him and chaſtiſe the delinquents. He was met on the frontiers by a deputation from the Northumbrians, who aſſured him they had no intention to rebel, but had taken up arms merely to defend themſelves from the cruelty and injuſtice of a rapacious governor; and at the ſame time they enumerated the grievances they had ſuſtained from the tyranny of his brother, from which they appealed to his own conſcience and the king's equity. Convinced of Toſton's brutality, he ſacrificed his affection to his duty, and not only repreſented the affair in its true colours to the king, but effected the confirmation of Morcar ſon to Alfgar duke of Mercia, whom the Northumbrians had elected for their governor. Mean while Toſton retired in wrath to Flanders; after having committed an action which proves him to have been a monſter of barbarity. He had always hated his brother Harold, whom he one day collared in the king's preſence; but the conduct of that nobleman in this laſt affair had exaſperated him to ſuch a degree, that he ſeized ſome of his domeſtics, whom he ordered to be cut in pieces, ſalted, barrelled, and ſent as a preſent to their maſter. The diſgrace of Toſton, far from weakening, effectually ſtrengthened the intereſt of Harold, who not only became the idol of the people, from this laſt inſtance of integrity, but alſo reinforced his credit, by eſtabliſhing his friend Morcar as duke of Northumberland, in the room of a worthleſs brother, upon whom he could not depend. He married Algitha ſiſter of Morcar and Edwin duke of Mercia; ſo that theſe countries, together with his own duke-

A. C. 1056. His moderation and popularity.

Flor. Wig. Chron. Sax.

A. C. 1056. dom of Weſſex, being ſecured in his family, his influence and power extended over the whole kingdom.

Edward's death. While Harold, in this manner, took long ſtrides towards the ſucceſſion, Edward's attention was engroſſed by the dedication of the cathedral at Weſtminſter, which, together with an adjoining monaſtery, he built in the place where an old church had ſtood, that was founded by king Sabert, or rather converted into a chriſtian church, from a temple in which the old Saxons had worſhipped Apollo. That this ceremony might be performed in the moſt ſolemn manner, he convoked a general aſſembly of the ſtates at London; and was taken dangerouſly ill before they were diſmiſſed. He had made a vow to go on a pilgrimage to Rome; but as he afterwards found it inconvenient as well as diſagreeable to his ſubjects to leave the kingdom, he obtained a diſpenſation from the pope, abſolving him from this obligation; but he thought he could not employ the money he had raiſed for his journey to a better purpoſe than that of building the cathedral and monaſtery of Weſtminſter, to which he granted, by charter, the privilege of a ſanctuary and other valuable exemptions, which were confirmed by the aſſembly of the ſtates; and Ingulph. the church was conſecrated to St. Peter. This was the laſt tranſaction of Edward, whoſe indiſpoſition had greatly increaſed before the conſecration was finiſhed; he then was confined to his bed, and lay in a delirium for three days, at the expiration of which he recovered the uſe of his reaſon; recommended his queen as a virgin to the good offices of the nobility; deſired ſome proviſion might be made for the ſervants who had followed him from Normandy; and directed that his body ſhould be buried in the new church of Weſtminſter: then Sim. Dun. A. C. 1066. receiving the ſacrament, he reſigned his breath, in the four and twentieth year of his reign.

Thus died Edward, whoſe mental qualities did not at all anſwer to the dignity of his perſon. He was weak, indolent, and irreſolute, and the attachment to his own eaſe tended in a great meaſure to the tranquillity of his reign; for had he been active in his reſentment, the nation muſt have been expoſed to the calamities of a civil war, from the meaſures he would have taken to gratify his hatred towards Goodwin and his family. He ſeems to have been void of natural affection, and indeed of every other paſſion that kindles any warm emotion in the human heart. He was equally free of pride and oſtentation, moderate in his appetites, complacent in his deportment, charitable to the poor, and extremely punctual in the performance of all religious duties: ſo that he acquired among the vulgar the title of Saint and Confeſſor, by which epithet he was afterwards canonized. His continence, ſo much extolled by the monkiſh writers, ſeems to have been the effect of conſtitutional frigidity. His prophecies and revelations are no other than the dreams of ſuperſtition; and as for his curing ſcrophulous tumours and ulcers by the touch, the ſenſible part of mankind is by this time very well convinced that neither he who exerciſed this apoſtolical function, in imitation of the French kings, nor any of his ſucceſſors, ever contributed to the recovery of one patient, by any inherent perſonal virtue derived from heaven. The paſſive humanity, or rather eaſineſs of his diſpoſition, appears from ſome private incidents of his life, which are very often more characteriſtic than thoſe tranſactions of importance, which are the effects of counſel and deliberation. One day, while he repoſed himſelf upon a couch, a page, who little dreamed that he was in the apartment, finding an iron cheſt open, filled his pockets with the ſilver it contained; but not ſatisfied with his firſt booty, he

A. C. 1066. His pacific character and indolence.

A. C. 1066. he had recourſe to it again; when the king thinking him perhaps too unconſcionable, "Boy (ſaid he very deliberately) you had better be ſatisfied with what you have got; for if Hugolin, my chamberlain, ſhould come in, you will loſe the whole, and be ſeverely whipt into the bargain." Another day being at the chace, in which he delighted, a forward peaſant croſſed the hounds and ſpoiled his diverſion; upon which he rode up to the clown in a great paſſion, exclaiming, "By God's mother! fellow, I would be revenged on thee, were it in my power." Before the reign of Edward, the countries of Weſſex, Mercia, and Northumberland, were governed by their own peculiar laws; but he reduced them all into one body, and ordained they ſhould be obſerved in common through the whole kingdom. Theſe were called Edward's laws, in contradiſtinction to thoſe of the Norman kings, which were introduced in the ſequel.

Hunting. Malmeſb. Hoveden.

HAROLD II.

Harold aſcends the throne.

HAROLD had taken his precautions with ſuch dexterity, that Edward's death was no ſooner known, than the ſtates, already aſſembled, unanimouſly elected him for their ſovereign, without paying the leaſt regard to Edgar Atheling, the heir by blood, or to William duke of Normandy, whoſe pretenſions they did not ſeem to know, as they were not publicly declared. There is great diſagreement among the authors who have writ the hiſtory of this period, touching the manner in which Harold aſcended the throne. Some alledge that the citizens of London, with Harold at their head, viſited Edward in his laſt moments, and extorted his nomination of this earl, even after he declared that he had already appointed William duke of Nor-

Normandy, for his ſucceſſor; and others affirm, that after Edward's death finding there was a diſpute among the nobles about the ſucceſſion, he ſeized the crown, which he placed upon his own head, and intimidated the aſſembly to ſuch a degree, that they gave their ſuffrages unanimouſly in his favour. A. C. 1066.

Harold, being crowned, began his reign with many popular acts of government. He paid great deference to the clergy, without ſhutting his eyes to the irregularities of that order, ſeverely chaſtiſing the guilty, while he beſtowed marks of his favour upon the innocent, by confirming their charters, and extending their immunities. He took the moſt effectual meaſures for an impartial adminiſtration of juſtice: ordered the laws to be reviſed and reformed, and exemplary puniſhment to be inflicted on robbers and diſturbers of the public peace, who had thriven under the lenity of the late reign; and laſtly, he made preparations for defending his territories from invaſion and inſult. His gentle adminiſtration.

He created Edgar Atheling earl of Oxford, cultivated the old nobility with kindneſs and veneration, eaſed the people of their taxes, and took ſuch pains to ſecure their property by wholeſome regulations, that there was no danger of his authority's being ſhaken by domeſtic troubles.

Theſe precautions were the more neceſſary, as he was not only threatened with a deſcent by William duke of Normandy, but likewiſe expoſed to the machinations of his own brother Toſton, who reſolved to diſturb his enjoyment of the new dignity he had acquired. That headſtrong implacable exile, being furniſhed with ſome ſhips by his father-in-law the count of Flanders, landed in the Iſle of Wight, which he laid under contribution. Then he pillaged the coaſt until he arrived in Lincolnſhire, where he was encountered by Edwin and Morcar, who routed his troops, and obliged him to take refuge

A. C. 1066. fuge in Scotland, in hope of being joined by Harold Harfager king of Norway, whom William duke of Normandy had inſtigated to ravage the Engliſh coaſt, and keep the king in play, until he ſhould have completed the armament which he was then preparing to aſſert his title to the Engliſh crown.

William, duke of Normandy, demands the crown.

The duke of Normandy, though well informed of all theſe popular tranſactions of Harold, would not deſiſt from the enterprize he had projected, but carried on his preparations with unremitting vigour; and in the mean time, to give ſome colour of juſtice to his attempt, he ſent ambaſſadors to demand that Harold would relinquiſh the crown in his favour, and to denounce war in caſe of a refuſal. To this peremptory demand Harold replied, that William had no ſort of right to the crown of England; for, granting that the late king had diſpoſed of it in his favour, ſuch a diſpoſition (if any ſuch there was) could not take place, inaſmuch as it was diametrically oppoſite to the laws of the kingdom, which reſtricted kings from beſtowing their crowns according to their own caprice, eſpecially to ſtrangers. With reſpect to himſelf, he had been fairly elected by thoſe who had a right to confer the ſovereignty; nor could he yield the crown to any other, without betraying the confidence repoſed in him by his ſubjects. As to the oath, which he accuſed him of having violated, it was extorted from him by compulſion, while he was in the power of the duke; and therefore null and void, according to the law of nations. Finally, he gave him to underſtand, that he knew how to defend his right againſt any perſon by whom he ſhould be invaded: an anſwer that referred the diſpute to the determination of war, for which both parties prepared with the utmoſt diligence.

Eadmer. Mat. Paris.

Duke

Duke William, in order to raiſe the ſums neceſſary for defraying the expence of ſuch an important enterprize, convoked an aſſembly of the Norman ſtates, of whom he demanded ſubſidies. But they refuſed to comply with his propoſals, on pretence that Normandy was already exhauſted of men and money by the late wars; and that they were not obliged to ſerve in foreign expeditions, in which the intereſt of Normandy was not immediately concerned. William, diſappointed in this quarter, was adviſed to borrow money of particular perſons; and this method ſucceeded beyond his wiſh. The individuals among the noblemen and merchants ſeemed to vye with each other in contributing towards the armament; and among others, William Fitzoſborne undertook to equip forty veſſels at his own expence. At the ſame time he had recourſe to ſome of the neighbouring princes, who advanced money on the contingency of having lands aſſigned to them, at the conqueſt of England; and in order to give the greater ſanction to his undertaking, he obtained the approbation of the pope, by promiſing to hold the kingdom as a fief of the holy ſee. That pontiff not only provided him with a conſecrated ſtandard, but alſo iſſued a bull, excommunicating all thoſe who ſhould attempt to interrupt the duke in the execution of his deſign. Howſoever the pope's approbation might operate in his behalf, by removing the ſcruples of the Normans, and animating them to exert their whole power for the ſucceſs of the expedition, it ſeemed to have no effect upon the ſubjects of Harold, who prepared a powerful navy, and aſſembled a numerous body of forces to cover his kingdom from the threatened invaſion: but being unwilling to burthen his people with unneceſſary expence, after having waited ſeveral months for William's arrival, and received intelligence

A. C. 1066. William makes preparations for invading England.

A. C. 1066. ligence that he had poſtponed his embarkation to the ſpring, he unrigged his fleet, and disbanded his army.

The king of Norway lands in Northumberland, and is defeated.

It was at this juncture that the politic Norman engaged the king of Norway to make a diverſion in his favour, by invading the north of England. Accordingly, Harfager arrived with a fleet of two hundred ſail at the mouth of the Humber, where he was reinforced by Toſton, and ſailing up the river, they landed and laid waſte the country of Yorkſhire. The earls of Mercia and Northumberland aſſembled a body of raw undiſciplined troops to oppoſe their progreſs; but they were routed at Fulford, and York fell a prey to the enemy. Mean while Harold being appriſed of Harfager's deſcent, began his march at the head of a royal army to check the career of the invaders; and the two armies meeting near Standford-bridge, ſince known by the name of Battle-bridge, a furious engagement enſued, in which Harfager and Toſton were killed, and almoſt all their forces cut in pieces. Thoſe who eſcaped owed their ſafety to the perſonal proweſs of a brave Norwegian, who ſingly defended a bridge over the Derwent, for three hours, againſt the whole Engliſh army, during which time he ſlew forty of their beſt men with his battle-ax, until he was ſlain by an arrow. Harold, purſuing his victory, made himſelf maſter of a great many Norwegian ſhips that lay in the river Ouſe; and at laſt conſented to an accommodation with Olave, the ſon of Harfager, and Paul, count of the Orkneys, who were permitted to retire with twenty ſhips, in conſideration of reſtoring the booty they had gained, and paying as much ſilver as twelve ſtrong men could carry.

Sim. Dun. Camden, Yorkſhire.

The fame of this victory did not contribute ſo much to the confidence which his ſubjects repoſed in his valour and capacity, as his unſeaſonable par-

simony hurt him in the opinion of his army: for he reserved to himself the whole booty, which was very considerable, with a view to convert it to the maintenance of the war against the Norman; and though this was a laudable design, formed in favour of his subjects, whom he was loth to burthen, it produced great dissatisfaction among his troops, a great number of whom deserted the service. A. C. 1066.

While he was thus employed in the North, duke William set sail from St. Valery, towards the latter end of September; and after a short passage arrived at Pevensey in Sussex, where, leaping ashore from the boat, he fell on his face, a circumstance which might have dispirited his followers, considering the superstition of the times, had not one of his soldiers converted it into a good omen, by saying aloud, in a jocose manner, "See how the duke takes possession of England." As that part of the country was quite unfurnished of troops, he met with no opposition in landing; so that he fortified his camp at his leisure, and then sent back his ships to Normandy, that his followers might have no resource but in their valour. After having refreshed his men at this place, he advanced along the sea-side to Hastings, where he ordered a fort to be built, and published a manifesto, containing the motives that induced him to undertake the enterprize. He said, he came to revenge the death of prince Alfred, restore the archbishop of Canterbury, and assist the English in punishing Harold, who had seized the crown to which he had no right, in direct violation of the oath he had sworn at the Norman court. But, he made not the least mention of Edward's will, which might have had some small weight among the people; whereas the reasons he assigned were so frivolous, that no Englishman would enlist under his banner. Nevertheless, he forbad his people, under severe penalties, to ravage

The Norman lands in Sussex, and publishes a manifesto.

A. C. 1066. vage the country, or insult the inhabitants, whom he affected to consider as his own subjects.

Harold marches against him. Harold was at York when he received the news of this invasion, and forthwith began his march for London, where, upon reviewing his army, he found it very much diminished by the battle with the Norwegians, and the subsequent desertion: but, all the nobility had assembled about his person, to offer their services on such an interesting occasion. While he remained in this city, waiting for some troops that were on the march to join him from different parts of the country, William sent ambassadors to him with another insolent message, demanding he would surrender the crown which he had so perfidiously usurped; and Harold retorted his arrogance by another embassy of the same nature, to which the duke made no answer. The English monarch having assembled all his forces, advanced against the Norman army, and encamped within seven miles of Hastings, where they were posted. While they remained at such a small distance from each other, on the eve of a decisive battle, the spies of Harold brought such a report of the strength and discipline of the Normans, that the principal officers of the English army began to doubt of their success. And Harold's brother Gurth advised the king to defer the battle: representing that the Normans would be distressed by the delay, and in all probability obliged to leave the kingdom, at the approach of winter; whereas the English army would daily increase: but, if he was determined to risk an engagement, he intreated Harold to retire, that in case the troops should be defeated, he might be in a condition to attack the victors with a fresh body of forces. The king rejected this advice with disdain, declaring, he would, by his personal behaviour, convince his subjects he was worthy of the crown they had set upon his head;

head; and affirming that the Normans were not more formidable than the Norwegians, whom he had so lately conquered. A. C. 1066.

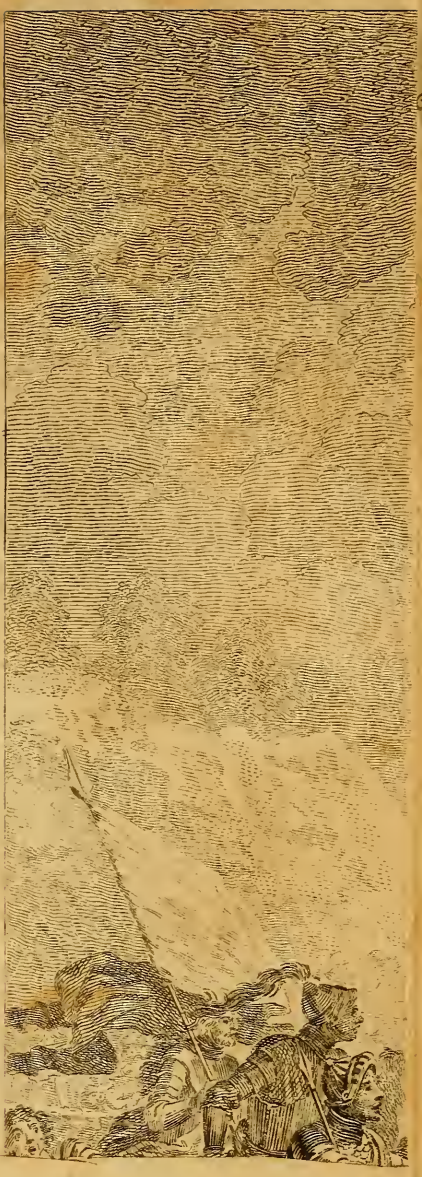
The duke of Normandy perceiving that Harold was determined to give him battle, advanced a little way, and took post in an advantageous situation, where he could have room to draw up his army in order of battle; and at this juncture he abated a little of his former pride and ferocity. Conscious of the greatness of that stake which he was going to hazard, he sent a monk to Harold, offering to refer their dispute to the determination of the pope; to quit the kingdom, provided he would do him homage for the crown; or to decide the quarrel in single combat. To these propositions Harold replied, that he was not so simple as to submit to the arbitration of the pope, who had already declared himself a party; that he scorned to hold the crown of England dependent on any prince whatever; nor would he put his kingdom on the issue of a single combat, in which, though he should obtain the victory, he could reap no solid advantage. He therefore told the messenger that God would next day decide between him and his adversary. The duke offers him an alternative, which he rejects.

That night was spent in feasting and mirth by the English, who seemed confident of success; while the Normans were employed in prayer and preparation for the battle. Next day, being the fourteenth of October, and the anniversary of Harold's birth, both armies appeared fronting each other, in order of battle. The vanguard of the English was composed of Kentishmen, in consequence of a privilege they enjoyed since the beginning of the Saxon heptarchy; and Harold commanded the main body on foot, as much exposed as the meanest of his soldiers. The Normans were formed in three lines, the first of which was commanded by Montgomery and Fitzosborne; Geof-

A. C. 1066. frey Martel conducted the second; and the duke headed the body of reserve, that he might occasionally sustain those who should need his assistance. The number of the Normans amounted to sixty thousand, including the archers and a strong body of cavalry armed cap-a-pee. The English were not so numerous, and consisted mostly of infantry armed with the target, battle-ax, spear, and scymitar.

The Normans begin the attack at the battle of Hastings.

The Normans began the battle, advancing while they sung the ballad of Rollo, and letting fly a shower of arrows, which discomposed the English, who were not accustomed to such missiles; nevertheless, they immediately closed their files, and gave the Normans such a warm reception, that they were obliged to retire a little and take breath. They repeated the attack, but could make no impression upon the English phalanx; and, in a word, the battle was fought with equal valour on both sides, from seven in the morning till the afternoon, before an inch of ground was lost or won on either side, notwithstanding the various efforts and undaunted courage of both chiefs, who exhibited repeated proofs of martial conduct, and animated their men by their presence, admonition, and example. At length William put in practice a stratagem to which his army had been regularly trained. He ordered a retreat to be sounded, and immediately his lines gave way, with such appearance of confusion, that the English believing them routed, forsook their ranks, and pursued with equal impetuosity and disorder. The duke of Normandy seeing their impenetrable column broke into small detachments dispersed about the field, ordered another signal to be made, at sight of which his men formed again in an instant, and, surrounding the detached bodies of the English, made a terrible slaughter. Harold, enraged to see the victory thus wrested from his grasp,



The Battle of Hastings with the Death of Harold King of Britain, which decided the Conquest of England by William Duke of Normandy.

Hayman delin.

Grignion . .

grasp, ran about the field with the utmost agility, rallying his men and reducing them to order, and at length took possession of a rising-ground, where he was joined by such a number of the fugitives, that he soon found himself in a condition to make head against the enemy. The Normans advanced to attack them, and were repulsed. Had Harold taken this opportunity of retiring, he might have saved himself and the greatest part of his army, and, in all probability, the Norman would have been glad to make peace on equal terms: but, he could not bear the disgrace of leaving the field of battle to his adversary, and resolved to maintain his post till next day, when he would try his fortune in another engagement. A. C. 1066.

William perceiving the night approaching, and unwilling to leave the battle undecided, made another desperate effort to dislodge the English, and in this attack Harold was shot dead with an arrow that pierced his brain. His troops seeing their gallant leader fall, were overwhelmed with consternation and despair, and fled immediately with the utmost precipitation; while the Norman horse pursuing, as long as they could see their way, made a terrible slaughter, without granting quarter to a single man. Yet a good part of the English army, favoured by the darkness, was saved by the conduct of Morcar and Edwin, who had fought with great courage, until the king and his two brothers were slain; and then seeing the troops broken and dispirited, had yielded to the fortune of the day. In this long and bloody engagement, which decided the fate of England, the victor lost six thousand men; but a much greater number of the vanquished were slain. William having thus attained the accomplishment of his wish, ordered his whole army to kneel and return thanks to heaven for the victory they had obtained: then he directed a tent to be pitched in the Harold is slain, and his army defeated.

A. C. 1066. middle of the ſlain, and there he paſſed the remaining part of the night. In the morning his ſoldiers were employed in burying their dead countrymen, while the peaſants of the neighbourhood were permitted to perform the ſame office to the Engliſh, who had loſt their lives in the battle. Harold's body was ſo mangled and defaced that it could not be diſcovered, until a lady, whom he had kept as a miſtreſs, diſtinguiſhed it by ſome private mark, known to herſelf alone. Being thus recognized, it was ſent, together with the bodies of his brothers Gurth and Lewin, to their mother Githa, by whom they were honourably interred in the abbey of Waltham, which Harold himſelf had founded *.

Sim. Dun. Ingulph. Flor. Wig. Chron. Pet. Hiſt. Eliens.

Thus died Harold II. in defence of Engliſh liberty, againſt the uſurpation of foreign power; and if we except the injury he did to Edgar Atheling, in excluding that young prince from the throne of his fathers, he ſeems to have been, in all reſpects, well qualified to wield the ſceptre with reputation to himſelf and happineſs to his ſubjects; for he was humane, affable, intelligent, and his generoſity was equal to his extraordinary courage. His death put an end to the dominion of the Anglo-Saxons in England, after it had continued above ſix hundred years, ſince the reign of Hengiſt, the firſt king of Kent.

* During the battle, which was fought near Heathfield, in Suſſex, at a place ſince called Battel, the duke of Normandy had three horſes killed under him; and was frequently in manifeſt hazard of his life. Being informed that an officer had thruſt his ſword into the dead body of Harold, he ordered him to be caſhiered immediately for the barbarous inſult, and ſent the body of that prince to his mother, without ranſom.

OF THE CHURCH.

EGBERT having united the Heptarchy was so engrossed by continual wars, that he had very little time to advert to ecclesiastical affairs; and indeed these troubles detached the people so much from the practice and study of religious duties, that the whole nation was overspread with ignorance, and a total relaxation of morals ensued. During this reign, however, Withlaf, the tributary king of Mercia, granted to the abbey of Croyland a famous charter, which was confirmed by the states of the kingdom. Among other privileges and exemptions contained in this charter, it ordained that the monastery of Croyland should be held as a sanctuary, which no officer of justice should presume to violate, on pain of losing his right foot; and that the abbot and monks should be entertained through all parts of Mercia, with all the honours and distinction due to a prince of the blood. This deed was confirmed by Egbert, and seems to have been the only ecclesiastical transaction of his reign: but his successor Ethelwulf, who was entirely governed by the clergy, and left the administration to Swithin, bishop of Winchester, extended his complaisance to the church farther than it had ever been carried by any of his predecessors; and as we have hinted in the history of his reign, bestowed upon it the tythes of all England, in an authentic charter confirmed in a general assembly at Winchester, and signed by the substituted kings of Mercia and East-Anglia. Spel. Conc.

Famous charter granted to the abbey of Croyland.

The reigns of Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred I. are very barren of all ecclesiastical matter, except the destruction of monasteries by the Danes, which the historians of those days have described in

Alfred restores the institution of monasteries

very pathetic terms: regretting in particular the three famous convents of Croyland, Ely, and Maderhamstede, in which the monks were massacred and their libraries burned. We have already observed that the cruelty of the Danes was so inveterate against every person appertaining to the culture of the christian religion, that those few monks who escaped their barbarity, either quitted the kingdom, or had recourse to other employments for a livelihood, when they found themselves deprived of the revenues upon which they formerly subsisted; so that Alfred the Great, when he triumphed over those invaders, could find no monks in England, and was obliged to replenish the monasteries he built with ecclesiastics invited from foreign countries. This great prince, who contributed so much to the restoration of learning and religion, enacted ecclesiastical as well as civil institutions. The first part of these is little more than a transcript of the Decalogue, omitting the second commandment, because repugnant to image-worship, which had by this time gained footing in England. These are followed by an abridgment of the regulations instituted by Moses, as recorded in the book of Exodus; and a recapitulation of the Gospel-dispensation: after which we find a short introduction to his code of civil laws, collected from those of Ina, Offa, and Ethelbert, the first of all the Saxon kings who were converted to Christianity.

Johnson's Canons.

Among those learned strangers who assisted Alfred in his great work of restoring the lustre of the church, and reviving the arts and sciences, the principal were these: Johannes Scotus Erigena, an Irish Scot, who had studied at Athens, and in other foreign countries, and made himself master of the Greek and Oriental tongues. He then repaired through Italy to France, where he acquired an eminent degree of favour and familiarity with Charles the

Account of Johannes Scotus Erigena, Grimbald, Asser Menevensis, and other eminent men.

the Bald; and the fame of his talents extending to England, he was invited hither by Alfred, whom he inſtructed in the liberal arts, and whoſe friendſhip he enjoyed notwithſtanding his oppoſition to the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, which rendered him obnoxious to the ſee of Rome. Towards the latter G. Malmeſ. part of his life he opened a ſchool in the monaſtery of Malmeſbury, where his ſcholars murdered him with their penknives, though we are ignorant of the occaſion. Another foreigner, for whom Alfred conceived a very early affection, was one Grimbald, who entertained him ſo hoſpitably in his journey to Rome, that he afterwards created him abbot of Wincheſter. He was a learned divine, well-ſkilled in muſic, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his talents in oratory. The firſt abbot of the new abbey, founded in the iſle of Athelney, was a native of old Saxony, and almoſt all the monks, prieſts, and deacons, were foreigners. Not but that his own country produced a number of men, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their piety and erudition; namely, Aſſer Menevenſis, a monk of St. David's, ſo attached to his retirement, that all the careſſes and favours of Alfred could not prevail upon him to forſake it entirely, though he conſented to live one half year with the king, who promoted him to the biſhopric of Sherburn, and beſtowed upon him many other marks of his particular regard: yet, he muſt not be confounded with his nameſake and uncle Aſſerius, archbiſhop of St. David's, who wrote part of Alfred's life. John, the monk, belonging to the ſame monaſtery, to whoſe inſtruction the king owed his knowledge of the Latin tongue. Werefred, biſhop of Worceſter, who had been driven by the Danes into baniſhment, from whence he was recalled by Alfred, who employed him to tranſlate Gregory's dialogues. Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Dunwulf, biſhop

of Wincheſter, who is ſaid by ſome authors to have been the very cowherd whom Alfred ſerved in diſguiſe: that prince it ſeems diſcovered in him a genius far above his ſtation in life, which he exalted in proportion to his merit.

The great reputation of Neotus, otherwiſe St. Neot.

But of all the eccleſiaſtics who dignified the court of Alfred, Neotus, or St. Neot was the moſt remarkable for his learning, piety, and example. In being deſcended from the blood royal of the Eaſt-Angles, he was reſpected as a prince as well as a prelate; and is ſaid, by his perſonal authority and admonitions, to have reſtricted the ſallies of Alfred's youth. He was buried at St. Guerer's church, at Gainſbury in Cornwall; and ſuch, by that time, was the general opinion of his ſanctity, that he ſupplanted the Corniſh ſaint, and gave his own name to the church, which was thenceforward called Neotſtow. The palace of earl Alric, in Huntingdonſhire, was afterwards converted into a monaſtery, and dedicated to this ſaint, whoſe body was tranſlated thither; though not ſuffered to remain in this place neither: for, in the reign of king John, his bones were removed from this St. Neot's to the abbey of Croyland. This eccleſiaſtic, and the greateſt part of thoſe abovementioned, taught together in the univerſity of Oxford, which was regulated and endowed by Alfred, who frequently aſſiſted in perſon at their exerciſes, until ſome diſputes aroſe between the native and foreign profeſſors, and then Grimbald retired to the monaſtery at Wincheſter, which the king had lately founded.

Camden.

Odo's riſe and character.

Alfred's ſucceſſor Edward imitated the virtues of his father, in founding the univerſity of Cambridge, as well as in a number of benefactions to the church: yet his reign is remarkable for a very particular exertion of the authority of the Roman ſee. Pope Formoſus, being informed that the biſhopric of Weſſex had been ſeven years vacant, ſent

ſent over a bull, excommunicating the king and all his ſubjects, which being publicly read at a general aſſembly of the ſtates, by Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, the vacant ſees were immediately filled, and three new biſhoprics erected in Weſſex. G. Malmeſh. Then Plegmund ſet out for Rome, where the ſentence was revoked, and at his return to England, he conſecrated ſeven prelates in one day. Plegmund was ſucceeded in the ſee of Canterbury by Athelm, biſhop of Wells, who crowned Athelſtan at Kingſton upon Thames; and during the reign of this prince was held the ſynod of Greatly, in which, beſides the political conſtitutions already mentioned, Athelſtan ordained, that all his own domains ſhould pay tythes to the church; and a poor Engliſhman be maintained from the product of every two farms in his poſſeſſion. After the death of Athelſtan, Odo, biſhop of Sherburn, was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury. He was a Dane by extraction, though born in Eaſt-Anglia, and diſinherited by his parents on account of his attachment to the chriſtian religion. His ſufferings recommended him to the protection of a nobleman called Adhelm, who perſuaded him to take orders; and by his intereſt he was raiſed to the ſee of Sherburn. Edmund, the ſucceſſor of Athelſtan, importuned him to accept of the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, which, however he for ſome time refuſed from a ſcruple of conſcience, believing that tranſlations were unlawful. When this objection was removed, by producing the example of Miletus and Juſtus, he was ſeized with a more ridiculous qualm, ſuppoſing no perſon but a monk could be qualified for an archbiſhopric; ſo that the king was obliged to ſend commiſſaries to France, to prevail upon the abbot of Fleury to admit him into his ſociety. After his elevation, this bigotted prieſt publiſhed a body of canons, in which he denounces

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excommunication againſt all violators of the church's property and exemptions; declares that thoſe who refuſe to obey the diſcipline of the church, are more wicked than the ſoldiers who crucified Chriſt; that it is the duty of kings, princes, and other perſons in authority, to obey with great humility the archbiſhops and biſhops, who keep the keys of heaven, and poſſeſs the power of binding and looſing; and that all the laity ſhould be ſcrupulouſly exact in paying the tythes to the clergy.

Dunſtan's origin and ambition.

In the reign of Edmund, a great ſynod was convoked at London, in which biſhops were enjoined to repair their churches, and the king required to eſtabliſh funds for their ſupport. In the courſe of the following year, another aſſembly enacted conſtitutions for the advancement of the chriſtian religion, and the maintenance of concord among the people. Here alſo churches and royal palaces were made places of ſanctuary; and it was ordained that no mulct for breaking the peace, or ſatisfaction for murder, ſhould be forgiven. About this period the famous Dunſtan began to ſignalize himſelf in the church and ſtate. He was by birth a Weſt-Saxon, deſcended of a noble family, and educated at Glaſtonbury, under a learned Iriſh monk, who inſtructed youth in that monaſtery. Having made extraordinary progreſs in his ſtudies, he was recommended by Adhelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to king Athelſtan, who took him under his protection, but no ſooner perceived his ambitious views and meddling diſpoſition, than he diſcarded him from his court. It was then that Dunſtan retired in diſguſt from the world, and conceived that affection for the monks which he ſo cordially expreſſed in the whole courſe of his future grandeur. Edmund at his acceſſion to the throne, invited him from his retreat, and made him his confeſſor; but he was for ſome miſdemeanour diſmiſſed from this office,

Spel. Conc.

office, which however he regained by dint of intereſt, and acquired amazing influence under this monarch and his brother Edred. The monaſtic life was at the ſame time dignified by an illuſtrious member in the perſon of Turketyl, who was an excellent ſoldier and ſound politician, and quitted the office of chancellor to embrace the life of a recluſe, at Croyland, of which he was made abbot, after having received the habit, together with the epiſcopal benediction and paſtoral ſtaff. He was no ſooner eſtabliſhed in this eccleſiaſtical office, than he reſigned the monaſtery, with all its deeds to Edred, who afterwards reſtored them to Turketyl and his monks, in a full aſſembly of the ſtates at London, when he exempted them from all ſervice and incumbrances, and confirmed all the former privileges of the monaſtery, except that of its being a ſanctuary, which the abbot wiſely refuſed.

Dunſtan's affection for the monks.

Dunſtan being promoted to the archbiſhoric of Canterbury, exerted all his power and influence to re-eſtabliſh the monks in poſſeſſion of the monaſteries which were occupied by the ſecular clergy; and if Edred had lived a little longer, he would probably have accompliſhed his aim: but that prince dying before he could wholly execute his project, his ſucceſſor Edwy fruſtrated all his endeavours, and not only ſtripped the monks of their benefices, but alſo expelled them from the monaſteries of Abbingdon and Malmeſbury. We have already obſerved how the clamour raiſed by the monks on this occaſion, coſt Edwy the beſt part of his dominions; and mentioned the ſteps which were taken in the ſucceeding reign by Dunſtan, to expel the ſecular prieſts, in their turn, on pretence that they did not lead a life of celibacy, according to the inſtitutions of the councils and ſee of Rome. Yet, notwithſtanding all his credit and eagerneſs of affection for the monks, it was not in his power to

re-eſtabliſh them in the monaſteries of the North, which had been deſerted above two hundred years; inſomuch that the order was ſcarce known in the province of Northumberland.

A body of canons published.

In the reign of Edward a body of canons was compoſed from the capitularies of Charlemagne, providing for the punctual payment of tythes and Peter-pence, the obſervation of Sunday, and the puniſhment of corrupt judges. Theſe were followed by another ſet, by which it appears that prieſts took young ſtudents to ſerve a kind of clerkſhip, before they were admitted to holy orders; for, one of the canons forbids any prieſt to take a ſtudent without the conſent of his former tutor. There is another, obliging every prieſt to learn ſome occupation, as an handicraftſman: and the reſt enjoin all eccleſiaſtics to learn the creed and pater-noſter; to have the hoſt always in readineſs, and burn it carefully when it grows ſtale, ſo as that the aſhes may be put under the altar. There is likewiſe a prohibition againſt the marriage of prieſts; a ſtrong injunction upon all chriſtians to abſtain from eating blood; and the collection concludes with penitentiary canons, by which it appears, that delinquents were allowed either to buy off their penance, or do it by proxy.

Oſwald, biſhop of Worceſter, being preferred to the ſee of York, invited ſeveral foreign monks to ſettle in England, twelve of whom he ſent to Ramſey, in Huntingdonſhire, where Alwin, duke of Eaſt-Anglia, had founded a religious houſe: and among other immunities, ſpecified in the charter, that no biſhop ſhould demand any entertainment, or exact any contribution from the monks of that ſociety. At the death of Edgar, we have ſeen how the ejected ſecular clergy renewed their claims under Alfgar duke of Mercia, who drove the monks from their poſſeſſions in his government, while

while they were ſupported by another party of the nobility in the intereſt of Dunſtan. In the courſe of this conteſt ſeveral councils were aſſembled, at which an Iriſh biſhop called Beornelm, undertook the cauſe of the ſecular prieſts, and offered to diſpute in public on the ſubject: but Dunſtan declined the challenge, on pretence that he was old and infirm; and that it would be impious to admit any diſpute on a ſubject, which had been determined by the miraculous interpoſition of heaven; for, as we have formerly obſerved, a crucifix was heard to ſpeak in favour of the monks; and now this deciſion was confirmed by the terrible accident of the houſe's falling down, on which occaſion Dunſtan and his aſſociates are ſaid to have remained unhurt.

Beornelm eſpouſes the cauſe of the ſecular clergy againſt Dunſtan.

Oſborne vit. Sancti Dunſtan.

Dunſtan was ſucceeded by Ethelgar, originally a monk of Glaſtonbury; and after him the archbiſhop's ſee was occupied by Siricius from the ſame ſeminary, who had before been preferred to the ſee of Ramſbury, in Wiltſhire. This is the prelate whoſe memory is branded for having adviſed king Ethelred to purchaſe a peace of the Danes; though it muſt be obſerved that no part of the Danegelt was levied by the clergy. Under the reign of this prince, a miſſion was ſent from England, at the requeſt of Aulaf king of Norway, to convert his ſubjects and the Swedes to the chriſtian religion. The chiefs of this miſſion were Sigisfrid archbiſhop of York, Eſchil, Barnard, and Gotibald: the firſt was made biſhop of Wexca, in Eaſt Gothland, where he died after a ſeries of ſucceſsful labours, in propagating the goſpel. Barnard baptized king Aulaf; Eſchil is enrolled in the Engliſh martyrology; and Gotibald, after having been created a biſhop, loſt his life in Sweden.

A miſſion ſent to convert the Swedes and Norwegians.

Alfric archbiſhop of Canterbury was ſucceeded by Alfage, who was of noble extraction, and had

been a monk of Deerhurſt in Glouceſterſhire; he was afterwards abbot of a ſociety at Bath, from which, by the favour of Dunſtan, he was preferred to the ſee of Wincheſter, which he poſſeſſed about two and twenty years. Before his elevation to the ſee of Canterbury, the fame of his ſanctity had ſpread all over Europe; ſo that when he went to Rome for the pall, the pope received him with uncommon marks of eſteem and affection. While he poſſeſſed the archbiſhopric, ſeveral councils were held, conſiſting of temporal and eccleſiaſtical powers, aſſembled to remedy the diſorders both in church and ſtate. We have already related the cataſtrophe of this prelate, who was barbarouſly murdered by the Danes, becauſe he either could not or would not pay the exorbitant ranſom they demanded; however he by his death acquired a place in the martyrology; and was ſucceeded in the ſee of Canterbury by Living, formerly biſhop of Wells, who was taken and maltreated by the Danes, from whom he eſcaped, after a confinement of ſeven months, and retired to the continent, where he remained until the troubles had ſubſided. His ſucceſſor was Agelnoth ſurnamed the Good, ſon of Agilſper, and abbot of Canterbury, at the time of his predeceſſor's deceaſe. He had great weight and influence with king Canute, who owed great part of his popularity to the archbiſhop's advice. A great many eccleſiaſtical laws were enacted in this prince's reign for the honour and advantage of the church; in particular, a body compiled and enacted at Wincheſter, confirming, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the reſpect due to ſanctuaries, and impowering prieſts to purge themſelves of all crimes laid to their charge, by ſaying maſs and taking the ſacrament, though the evidence againſt them ſhould be never ſo ſtrong.

St. Alfage is murdered by the Danes.

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Agelnoth was a prelate of equal piety and fortitude; for, at the acceſſion of Harold Harefoot, he flatly and reſolutely refuſed to perform the ceremony of that prince's coronation, declaring that he had promiſed to Canute, that he would crown no prince but the poſterity of Emma: he therefore ſet the diadem on the altar, and denounced the vengeance of heaven upon any prelate who ſhould place it on the head of Harold. At his death the archbiſhopric was beſtowed upon Eadſius, Harold's chaplain, who afterwards crowned Edward the Confeſſor, and inſtructed that prince in the knowledge of the Engliſh laws and conſtitution. G. Malmeſb.

Agelnoth reſolutely refuſes to crown Harold Harefoot.

Whatever pains he might have taken with his royal pupil, he could not perſuade him to comply with the character and genius of the Engliſh nation; for, not contented with introducing the manners, cuſtoms, and language, of the Normans, he preferred Robert, one of his Norman followers, to the ſee of Canterbury; and two other chaplains ſucceſſively to the biſhopric of London. By which partiality he involved himſelf in ſuch perplexity and diſtreſs, that he was fain to purchaſe his own eaſe by ſuffering theſe foreigners to be expelled: but, before this expulſion, one Herman, a Fleming, being promoted to the ſee of Wilton, was not contented with this proviſion, but a vacancy happening in the abbey of Malmeſbury, ſollicited the king for its being added to his biſhopric; and the king granted his requeſt, together with an order importing that the abbey ſhould be diſſolved in three days. One of the monks being appriſed of this decree, implored the patronage of earl Goodwin, who was pleaſed with an opportunity to oppoſe foreign influence at court. He therefore repreſented to Edward the injuſtice of his order, and deſired he would forthwith recal his grant: Edward dreading his reſentment, and perhaps convinced

Edward's complaiſance to foreigners.

vinced by his remonſtrance, immediately complied with his requeſt; and the Fleming left England in great diſpleaſure. But, not reliſhing the auſterities of a monaſtic life, which he had in his paſſion embraced, he returned to England during Goodwin's diſgrace, and prevailed upon Edward to unite the ſees of Ramſbury and Sherburn in his favour.

Edward is abſolved of his vow by the pope.

When Robert, with all the reſt of the foreigners, were expelled, the ſee of Canterbury devolved to Stigand, which he held without reſigning the biſhopric of Wincheſter, already in his poſſeſſion. He had been formerly biſhop of Elman, in Norfolk, and ejected in conſequence of a quarrel with one Grimkettle; but he found means to retrieve his intereſt, and be eſtabliſhed in the ſee of Selſey, while his brother Ethelmar was made biſhop of the Eaſt-Angles. At this period a revolution happened in the ſee of Crediton in Devonſhire, which was removed to Exeter, under a Lorrainer called Leoffric, a man of great learning and quality, who was highly honoured and eſteemed by Edward and his queen. He ejected all the monks from the monaſteries of St. Peter, and in their room introduced canons, who ate together at one table, ſlept in one apartment, and were provided with food and raiment by a ſteward of the biſhop's appointing. King Edward being diſquieted with ſome ſcruples, touching a vow he had made in his diſtreſs to viſit Rome, which the kingdom was very averſe to his performing; he, by the advice of his council, ſent Alured biſhop of Worceſter with an embaſſy to the pope, deſiring that his holineſs would quiet his conſcience, by abſolving him of the vow, as the welfare of his ſubjects did not permit him to undertake the journey in perſon. Leo IX. who then filled the papal chair, hearing the circumſtances explained, complied with the king's requeſt; but,

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by way of commutation, enjoined him to distribute in alms a sum equal to what he might have expended in his journey; and to found a new monastery, the charter of which he confirmed beforehand. Mean while Egilric resigned the see of Durham to his brother Egilwin. He found a great treasure in laying the foundation of a church dedicated to St. Cuthbert; and was so enriched by this accident, that he laid aside his episcopal function, and amused himself in carrying on works of convenience for the emolument of the country.

Sends an embassy to Rome.

Edward, on occasion of consecrating the church and abbey of Westminster, which he undertook by the pope's advice, resolved to send another embassy to Rome, for the confirmation of the privileges bestowed upon this new foundation. The persons nominated for this service were Aldred archbishop of York, Goodwin's son Toston, Giso bishop of Wells, and Walter bishop of Hereford. Pope Nicholas II. received all these deputies with great honour, except Aldred, who holding the sees of York and Worcester together, without any dispensation from the pope, was tried and convicted of simony, and divested of his character and jurisdiction. The ambassadors being dismissed by his holiness, had scarce lost sight of Rome, when they were set upon and robbed by banditti: a circumstance which obliged them to return to the city, that they might be equipped anew for their journey. Toston took this opportunity of demanding that the pope would indemnify him for the damage he had sustained. Finding no redress, he gave his holiness to understand, that he suspected him of being concerned in the robbery; and would therefore, at his return to England, prevail upon the king to stop the payment of Peter-pence, until he and his fellow-travellers should be reimbursed.

Pope Nicholas reſtores Aldred to the ſee of York.

Nicholas, ſtartled at this declaration, offered to compromiſe the affair; and, in order to appeaſe the clamour of Toſton, agreed that Aldred ſhould be reſtored to his dignity, and even receive the pall as archbiſhop of York, provided he would reſign the ſee of Worceſter. The propoſal was embraced, the accommodation effected, and Nicholas ſent two legates to aſſiſt Aldred in conſecrating Wulfſtan biſhop of Worceſter; becauſe Stigand archbiſhop of Canterbury was looked upon as an uſurper by the ſee of Rome, inaſmuch as he had taken poſſeſſion during the life of Robert the Norman, and not yet received the pall from his holineſs. Stigand, nevertheleſs, performed his metropolitanical functions, without paying any regard to the diſapprobation of the pope, becauſe he found himſelf conſidered and revered as an archbiſhop by the king and people of England. Nor would he ſuffer this conſecration of Wulfſtan to affect his authority; for he obliged Aldred to declare before the king and council, that he renounced all pretenſions to eccleſiaſtical or ſecular authority over Wulfſtan, whom he had conſecrated.

Spelman
G. Malmeſ.

Account of the Welſh ſynods.

Together with this ſhort ſketch of the Engliſh eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, it will not be improper to give a brief abſtract of the tranſactions of the Welch church during the ſame period. In or near the reign of Alfred, ſix ſynods were held at Landaff, though the dates of them are very uncertain. In the firſt, king Tudor was excommunicated for perjury and murder. The ſecond, aſſembled by biſhop Berthguin, pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt king Clolti, for the ſame offences. The third paſſed the like cenſure upon Gurcan, for the crime of inceſt with his own mother-in-law. Biſhop Cerenhir convoked the fourth ſynod, by which king Howel was ſtigmatized for murder and perjury. The ſame prelate preſided in the

the fifth, and proceeded in the ſame manner againſt Conbli, for the ſame offences. The ſixth was held by Civeillianc, againſt king Brochvail, who had in ſome ſhape incurred his diſpleaſure; and all theſe kings, who were no other than petty toparchs, made very humble ſubmiſſion, underwent ſevere penance, and payed heavy fines to the church, before they obtained abſolution. Beſides theſe, there was another council convened at the ſame place, on account of ſome ravages committed againſt the church by king Nougui, who ſubmitted to the cenſure of the ſynod. A ſubſequent aſſembly was called to deliberate upon the violation of a ſanctuary, from which the magiſtrate had taken by force a deacon guilty of perfidious murder. They vigorouſly ſupported the rights of the church on this occaſion, and compelled the civil power to deliver up the criminal. The laſt convocation was held by Gucan, whom Dunſtan had conſecrated biſhop of Landaff, in order to denounce excommunication againſt Arthmail, who had murdered his own brother. The criminal ſubmitted to the juriſdiction of the ſynod, and purchaſed his pardon with a large ſum for the benefit of the clergy.

Canons of Hoel Dha.

Hoel Dha, otherwiſe called Howel the Good, cotemporary with Edmund king of England, has left a conſiderable collection of canons, compoſed in an aſſembly of the ſtates of his kingdom. A committee of one clergyman and twelve laymen was appointed to draw up the form of thoſe laws; the moſt remarkable circumſtance of which is the twelfth canon, by which it was provided, that a married woman was intitled to ſeparation and the reſtitution of her fortune, provided the huſband ſhould be impotent, afflicted with the ſcab, or have a ſtinking breath. Spelman. Concil.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK SECOND.

From the NORMAN CONQUEST to the Death of King JOHN.

A. C. 1066. Consternation of the Engliſh after the battle of Haſtings.

BY the defeat of Haſtings the Engliſh were not only deprived of their king, but alſo the flower of their nobility, and left without any feaſible ſcheme or determination by which they could take meaſures for repairing the loſs they had ſuſtained. Harold's brothers were ſlain, his children had eſcaped into Ireland, and Edgar Atheling, though beloved by the people as the offspring of their ancient kings, had neither ſpirit, capacity, nor inclination, to take the helm of government in ſuch a tempeſtuous ſeaſon. Count Morcar and his brother Edwin were ſtill alive indeed, and had retired to London with the remains of the army; but their authority was not ſufficient to execute ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for the preſervation of the commonwealth; the diverſity of opinions ariſing from different motives of intereſt, terror, and deſpair, produced a dreadful anarchy of perplexity and conſternation.

While

WILLIAM the CONQUEROR.

A. C. 1066.

While this distraction prevailed at London, the Conqueror considered that the loss of a battle might astonish, but would hardly terrify the English into submission; as they had still considerable resources of men and arms, with which they would in all likelihood try their fortune again in the field; that if he should be defeated in his turn, he had no place of retreat in which he could find refuge until he should be reinforced from Normandy; and that the party which he had in England might foment divisions in the state, which would operate for his interest, provided he should give them time to practise on the minds of the people; whereas, should he advance immediately to London, they would unite from the sense of their common danger, before they could find leisure to consult their different views and conjectures. Urged by these reflections, William, instead of marching directly to London, invested Dover, which was strongly fortified by art as well as nature, and provided with a numerous garrison, reinforced by those who escaped from the battle; so that it might have made a vigorous defence: but such was the consternation diffused among them by the success of his arms, that they surrendered in a few days; and he ordered the fortifications to be repaired and augmented.

William reduces the town and castle of Dover.

Gul. Pict.

Having tarried about a week in this neighbourhood, in order to animate the workmen by his presence, he began his march for London; and advancing in person, with a small body of horse, at a considerable distance from the rest of the army, he is said to have been met by the Kentishmen with boughs in their hands. When he halted to observe this moving forest, they suddenly threw down their branches, and appeared to be a strong body of men, armed with an intention to dispute his passage: while he considered this phenomenon, the

His adventure with the men of Kent.

A. C. 1066. deputies of the Kentiſhmen approached, and made a tender of their ſubmiſſion, provided he would not infringe their privileges. William granted their demand; and they took the oath of allegiance, and retired. But, even after this impediment was removed, he could not proceed with much expedition, becauſe a dyſentery prevailed in his army, and he himſelf was ſeized with the ſame diſtemper, which not a little retarded his march.

Thorn.

Diſputes about the ſucceſſion. Edgar is proclaimed king of England.

By this time Morcar and Edwin had aſſembled in London almoſt all the remaining nobility of the kingdom, to deliberate upon meaſures to be taken in the preſent emergency, both for ſettling the government of the nation, and raiſing an army to oppoſe the Normans. The two brothers propoſed that Edgar Atheling ſhould be placed upon the throne; and this motion was warmly ſeconded by archbiſhop Stigand and the Londoners, who were extremely rich and powerful; but the greateſt part of the clergy favoured the deſigns of the Norman, either becauſe they looked upon him as a devout prince, under whom the church would flouriſh, or dreaded the curſes and reſentment of the pope, who had already declared in his behalf. They could not, however, with all their arts, prevent Edgar from being proclaimed king of England; though, they had intereſt enough to prevent his levying ſuch an army as could ſupport his authority againſt ſuch a powerful rival. The exerciſe of his ſovereignty was therefore of very ſhort duration.

William advances towards the capital.

William continued advancing in three diviſions, by three different routes; and his men were ordered, if they ſhould meet with any reſiſtance, to deſtroy the country with fire and ſword. Accordingly, ſlight pretences were made handles for committing terrible outrages, at which the duke connived, on the ſuppoſition, that ſuch ſeverity would intimidate the Engliſh, and facilitate their ſub-

submission. As he approached the capital, in this manner, the terrors of the people waxed stronger and stronger, and the clergy employed all their industry and insinuation to dissuade them from making a resistance, which would only serve to exasperate the victor: whereas they might expect the confirmation of their liberty and privileges in the way of negotiation. A. C. 1066.

These remonstrances, added to the nearness of the danger, had such weight with the citizens of London, who had more at stake than any other subjects of England, that their courage began to flag, and they earnestly expressed a desire of accommodation. Morcar and Edwin, with a view to animate their party, took the opportunity to sally out from London upon William, who arrived in the neighbourhood of that city at the head of his first division. They resolved to attack him before he could be sustained by the rest of his army, and hoped to find him fatigued from his march: but the Norman was too vigilant to be so surprised; and gave them such a warm reception, that they were fain to retire with great precipitation. This check dispirited the friends of Edgar, and furnished the clergy with fresh arguments in favour of the measures they had proposed; so that they soon made a multitude of proselytes to their opinion, while Edwin and his brother, perceiving Edgar's cause desperate, retreated with their forces to the northern provinces. Morcar and Edwin make an unsuccessful sally. Gul. Pict.

By this time the advanced parties of the Normans had burned the suburbs on the Surry side of the river by the command of William, whose army passing the Thames at Wallingford, was now as far as Berghamstead in their march to London; so that the nobles and prelates, assembled at London, would no longer delay to seize the only opportunity they would have to plead the merit of a volun- The nobility and clergy submit to the Conqueror.

A. C. 1066. tary submission. They accordingly went forth, attended by the magistrates of London, and meeting the duke at the head of his troops, made a solemn tender of the crown. He received them with great courtesy, and after having taken time to deliberate upon the proposal, accepted the offer they had made, and assured them they should have no cause to repent of their choice; he did not think proper however to trust himself in the city of London, but established his head quarters at Berking in Essex, until a fort could be built in the city to overawe the inhabitants.

Gul. Pict.

William is crowned at London.

Edgar Atheling, encouraged by the report of his affability, went thither to renounce his pretensions, and implored the protection of William, by whom he was graciously received. Morcar and Edwin having no further pretext for keeping aloof, solicited his forgiveness, and disbanding their troops, went to receive his commands; and their example was followed by all the lords and corporations of the kingdom. The Norman, having thus acknowledged the power of election in the people of England, in deigning to receive the crown as a present, was immediately proclaimed king, and appointed the day for his coronation at London. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, lying under a sentence of suspension by the pope, to whom William owed great obligations, this prince, in order to avoid any objection that might be made with respect to the informality of his consecration, desired that the ceremony might be performed by Aldred archbishop of York, who, upon that occasion, addressing himself to the English, assembled in great numbers, asked if they chose William duke of Normandy for their king; and was answered in the affirmative with loud acclamations. The bishop of Constance having put the same question to the Normans, and received the like reply, Aldred set

the crown on his head; and then the Norman took the accuſtomed oath, importing that he would protect the church and its miniſters, govern his people with equity, enact juſt laws, and cauſe them to be punctually obſerved. A. C. 1066. G. Malmeſb.

The firſt act of ſovereignty he exerciſed after his coronation was the ſeizure of Harold's treaſure, which he found amaſſed at Wincheſter. Part of this he diſtributed among the principal officers of his army; part was given to churches and monaſteries; and a large ſhare ſent to the pope, either to diſcharge a debt which he owed to his holineſs, or as a mark of his gratitude for the countenance of that pontiff, to which he in a great meaſure owed his ſucceſs. He begun his reign with ſuch moderation as afforded a happy omen to his ſubjects. He exhorted his principal officers to treat the Engliſh with humanity, and reſpect them as brothers; he iſſued orders through his army, forbidding his ſoldiers to attempt the chaſtity of the women, or commit the leaſt outrage againſt the inhabitants, under the ſevereſt penalties; and he publiſhed an edict, confirming all the privileges of the people, and all the promiſes he had made in their behalf. This ſpecimen of his equity had a wonderful effect among the Engliſh, who vied with each other in teſtifying their loyalty and eſteem, by preſenting him with great ſums of money, which helped him to defray the expence of the conqueſt: nor could they blame his conduct, when he divided among his followers the lands of all the noblemen who had appeared in arms againſt him, as well thoſe that fell as thoſe that ſurvived the battle. This was looked upon as a common act of juſtice, eſpecially as he at the ſame time confirmed the reſt in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates. Among theſe, he diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of favour, Edgar Atheling, called the darling of the Engliſh, whom

His moderation and equity.

Gul. Pict.

A.C. 1066. whom he not only allowed to retain the earldom of Oxford, but affected to careſs on all occaſions, as the nephew of his benefactor Edward. On other Engliſh noblemen he conferred poſts of importance, both in Britain and Normandy, and projected matches between his officers and the ladies of England, while he provided Engliſh huſbands for the Norman heireſſes, as if his intention had been to unite the two nations. Mat. Paris.

He granted a new charter to the city of London, confirming the privileges which the citizens enjoyed in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor; he preſerved the Saxon laws and conſtitution; he made a progreſs into the provinces of Mercia and Weſſex, to confirm by his preſence and perſonal deportment the great idea which the people had conceived from his fame. As the country was infeſted with robbers, who found ſhelter in the woods, he exerted himſelf in exterminating thoſe banditti. He made excellent regulations for the ſecurity of the ſubjects from violence and rapine; and, as another inſtance of his piety and moderation, founded an abbey on the ſpot where Harold had fallen, to which he gave the name of Battel, and there ordered maſs to be ſaid for the repoſe of Harold's ſoul. Id. Ibid.

He erects fortreſſes.

In the midſt of thoſe popular tranſactions, he did not neglect to take the neceſſary precautions for preſerving his conqueſt. The Tower of London, and the other forts he had erected at Norwich, Wincheſter, Hereford, Haſtings, and Dover, were provided with ſtrong Norman garriſons; and the citizens of London, as well as the other natives of the realm, whom the Saxon laws obliged to appear once a year in arms, furniſhed at their own expence, were now diſincumbered of this unneceſſary burthen. Theſe ſteps were taken with the more expedition, as he longed to reviſit his native country,

country, and manifeſt to his own natural-born ſubjects, the importance of his conqueſt. Having therefore no reaſon to apprehend any diſturbance in his abſence among the Engliſh, whoſe affection he had taken ſuch pains to conciliate, he left the regency with his brother Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, and William Fitzosborne; and that he might neglect no means that ſound policy dictated, he reſolved to carry along with him all the Engliſh noblemen, from whoſe power or inclination he could apprehend a revolt or inſurrection. The chief of theſe were Edwin and Morcar, Waltheof ſon of the renowned Siward, and Edgar Atheling, together with Stigand archbiſhop of Canterbury, whom he affected to treat with all the exterior marks of the moſt profound reſpect: indeed his pretence for being accompanied by all theſe perſonages was that he liked their converſation, eſteemed their characters, and deſired to do them honour in the eyes of the world; though they themſelves plainly perceived they were carried abroad as hoſtages to enſure his conqueſt and adorn his triumph. A. C. 1066. Malmeſb. de Geſt. Pontif.

With this train of honourable captives he ſet ſail for Normandy, where he was received by his natural ſubjects with marks of exceſſive joy and admiration; and he paſſed his Chriſtmas at Freſcamp, where he was viſited by an ambaſſador with a numerous retinue, ſent by the king of France to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne. He received this embaſſy with great ſtate and magnificence, calculated to dazzle the eyes of the ſender, and ſpent the whole winter in Normandy in feaſt and rejoicing. Notwithſtanding all the precaution he had taken to ſecure the tranquillity of his new kingdom, murmurs, diſcontent, and at laſt open inſurrection, were excited in it, by the tyranny and oppreſſion of the regents, who acted as if they had been ordered to provoke the Engliſh to a rebellion, which A. C. 1067. William returns to Normandy. G. Pictav. An inſurrection in Kent.

A. C. 1067. which might furniſh the Conqueror with a pretence to deprive them of their liberty and conſtitution. Odo and Fitzosborne took all opportunities of fleecing the people who were ſubjected to their government; and this oppreſſion was rendered the more intolerable by the inſults they underwent in attempting to obtain redreſs. The inhabitants of Kent, who were more immediately expoſed to theſe outrages, having repeated their complaints and remonſtrances to no purpoſe, at length had recourſe to Euſtace count of Bologne, who was then at variance with the Norman, and glad of an opportunity to leſſen his intereſt in England. He therefore agreed to land a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Dover, while Hugh de Montfort, the governor of that fortreſs, was abſent, with part of the garriſon; and theſe being joined by the Kentiſhmen, attacked the caſtle, which they hoped to ſurpriſe; but the Normans were upon their guard, and received them ſo warmly that they were ſoon forced to retire with great precipitation: the garriſon, perceiving their confuſion, made a ſally, in which the Boulogneſe were cut in pieces, and the nephew of Euſtace taken priſoner.

Ord. Vital. Flor. de Wor. G. Malmeſ.

The prowefs of Edric, ſurnamed the Foreſter.

This miſcarriage did not deter Edric ſurnamed the Foreſter from ſeeking redreſs of his grievances, in his own valour and conduct. He was nephew to the infamous Edric Streona, who had ſo often betrayed the intereſt of Ethelred and Edmund Ironſide, and poſſeſſed a conſiderable part of the counties of Salop and Hereford. He had accompanied Edwin and other noblemen to London, when they ſwore allegiance to William, from whom he had met with a very gracious reception; but in the abſence of the Conqueror, his lands were continually ravaged by Richard Fitzſcrope and other officers belonging to the Norman garriſons of that diſtrict, lying under the particular government of William Fitz-

Fitzosborne. Edric, who was brave, vigilant, and enterprising, did not allow them to make such encroachments with impunity: on the contrary, he commonly lay in ambush, and attacked the pillagers in their return; so that they lost a considerable number of men in these incursions. At length Edric, seeing no end to these insults, resolved to retort their depredations; and being joined by a body of Welch, entered Herefordshire, and wasted the country as far as the Lugge, from whence he returned in triumph, with a considerable booty. Besides this adventure, insurrections were raised in other parts of the country, and were with great difficulty suppressed by the joint forces of Odo and the earl of Hereford: such was the resentment of the nation against the rapacious Normans, that earl Coxo was slain by his own vassals, because he would not head them in open rebellion; and great numbers of those foreigners were set upon and cut off by bands of people that rendezvoused in woods and forests. A. C. 1067. Flor. Wig.

William, being informed of these commotions, left the government of Normandy to queen Mathilda and his eldest son Robert, and arrived in England time enough to prevent the execution of a scheme which the English had formed to deliver themselves from the Norman yoke. They had already taken the resolution to massacre all those strangers on Ashwednesday, during the time of divine service, at which all the Normans would certainly assist unarmed, as penitents, according to the discipline of those days; but William's arrival broke all their measures, and the chiefs of this conspiracy retired to the North, fortified the city of Durham, and set his power at defiance. Projected massacre of the Normans.

Whether these attempts and disturbances impressed William with an unfavourable opinion of the English, or he only affected for his own ends William's dislike to the English.

to

A. C. 1068. to look upon them as a turbulent people, diſaffected to his perſon and government; certain it is, he from this period laid aſide his former complacency, and inſtead of puniſhing his regents and officers for their peculation, ſeemed extremely well ſatisfied with their conduct. Edwin, the moſt powerful and popular nobleman in England, he attached to his intereſt by promiſing to give him his daughter in marriage; and he had raiſed ſuch a number of fortreſſes in different parts of the kingdom, that he no longer dreaded the tumultuous and tranſitory efforts of a diſcontented multitude. In theſe ſentiments, he determined to treat them as a conquered nation, eſpecially as in ſo doing he ſhould be able to erect an abſolute tyranny, to which he was diſpoſed by nature and inclination; to indulge his avarice, and at the ſame time gratify his followers, who expected to receive extraordinary recompence, in proportion to the extraordinary ſucceſs which their arms had enabled him to enjoy.

The people of the Weſt revolt.

The firſt ſignal of his arbitrary power was manifeſted in renewing the odious tax of Danegelt, which had been aboliſhed by Edward the Confeſſor; a ſtep which produced murmurs and diſcontent through the whole kingdom, and induced archbiſhop Aldred to exhort the king to remit an exorbitant impoſition, which could not fail to be attended with fatal conſequences. William ſignified his diſpleaſure at the freedom of this remonſtrance; and, far from complying with the advice, ordered the Danegelt to be levied with extraordinary rigour. Theſe proceedings intimidated all that part of the country which was a witneſs of his great power, and immediately ſubject to the terrors of a ſtanding army; but, the more remote provinces of Cornwall and Devonſhire revolted in defence of their independency, and the city of Exeter

Exeter refuſed to admit a Norman garriſon. William, incenſed at this inſtance of their preſumption, began his march immediately from London, though the winter was far advanced; and was met at ſome diſtance from the city by the magiſtrates, who made a tender of ſubmiſſion, and delivered hoſtages, as pledges of their obedience: but the populace renounced the conduct of their magiſtracy, and raiſed a tumult, in which the gates were ſhut againſt the king, who, provoked at this outrage, commanded one of the hoſtages to be deprived of his eyes, in the view of the mutineers; then inveſting the place, began to carry on his advances in form. The people, terrified at theſe approaches, ſent another deputation to implore his mercy, and ſurrendered the town at diſcretion; ſo that he had an opportunity of manifeſting his clemency, by pardoning the rebels and protecting the city from being plundered. He took a more effectual method to prevent future inſurrections, by building a citadel, in which he placed a ſtrong garriſon under the command of Baldwin de Molis, on whom he likewiſe beſtowed the government of the county. Ord. Vital.

A. C. 1068. Exeter is reduced by the king.

From hence he repaired to Wincheſter, where he kept his Eaſter. The queen Mathilda arriving at this city immediately after the holidays, was ſolemnly crowned by archbiſhop Aldred; and before the expiration of the year delivered of a ſon called Henry, who afterwards aſcended the throne.

His queen Mathilda is crowned at Wincheſter.

William, loth to part with the ſums which he had raiſed by the Danegelt, and being teized with the importunities of his Norman dependents, ſent commiſſaries into every county, to take information of all thoſe freeholders, who had ſerved under Harold, at the battle of Haſtings, and confiſcated their eſtates, which were given to Norman officers: this was perhaps the moſt unjuſt inquiſition that ever any tyrant

He fleeces the Engliſh.

A. C. 1068. tyrant set up; and therefore increased the dissatisfaction of the English to such a degree, that they were ripe for a general insurrection. The people, on this occasion, naturally turned their eyes upon the two brothers Edwin and Morcar, from whose valour alone they expected deliverance from the Norman oppression. These noblemen felt for the distresses of their country, and were by this time very well disposed to act for its relief, inasmuch as they plainly saw that William doubted their fidelity, and even refused to perform the promise he had made to Edwin. Notwithstanding their great power and interest in England as well as in Wales, the prince of which, called Blethwyn, was their nephew, they would not run the risque of an open rupture with such a formidable prince as William, until they had first solicited succours from Swein, king of Denmark, and actually received assurances of a reinforcement from Malcolm, who at that time sat on the Scottish throne. These precautions being taken, they assembled their forces in Yorkshire, and openly declared their design of dethroning a tyrant whose aim was to enslave and oppress the nation.

Morcar and Edwin revolt.

An accommodation.

William immediately put himself at the head of his army, and began his march to the North, building as he advanced, strong castles at Nottingham and Warwick, the command of which he bestowed upon William de Peverell, and Henry de Newbourg, whom he afterwards created earl of Warwick. Mean while the two earls, Morcar and Edwin, who expected strong reinforcements from all parts of the kingdom, finding themselves disappointed in their hope, and in danger of being abandoned by the troops already assembled, who exhibited evident marks of fear and consternation as the king approached, resolved to make their own peace; or, if that should be impracticable, to retire into another

other country. They accordingly had recourſe to the clemency of the Conqueror, who did not think proper to reject the advances of two ſuch powerful and popular noblemen, and therefore pardoned them without further heſitation. A. C. 1068. Ord. vital.

Nevertheleſs he continued his march to York; was met by the citizens, who made their ſubmiſſion, and preſented the keys of their city, in which he built a citadel, and ſecured the place with a Norman garriſon. At the ſame time Archillus, the moſt powerful nobleman of Northumberland, who had been concerned in the revolt, was pardoned, in conſideration of delivering his ſon an hoſtage for his future fidelity; and Egelwin, biſhop of Durham, having obtained grace for himſelf and that city, was employed as a mediator to effect an accommodation with Malcolm, king of Scotland. This prince was actually on his march to join Morcar and Edwin, when he received the overtures for a treaty of peace, which was immediately concluded; and then he ſent ambaſſadors to do homage to William for the kingdom of Cumberland, which he held of the Engliſh crown. He leaves a garriſon at York; and concludes a peace with Malcolm, king of Scotland.

The king, in his return from this expedition, ordered ſtrong caſtles to be built at Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, for the ſecurity of theſe counties; a precaution the more neceſſary at this period, as they were infeſted by the incurſions of the famous Hereward le Wake, lord of Brunne in Norfolk, who returning from his travels, and finding his patrimony in the hands of the Normans, aſſembled a hardy band of his vaſſals, at the head of whom he ejected and ſlew the intruders, and ravaged the neighbouring country from motives of revenge. The march of William towards the North, and the diſcontent that prevailed over all the kingdom, encouraged the ſons of Harold to return from Ireland. They found means to raiſe a body of adventurers in that country, with which they The ſons of Harold land in Somerſetſhire.

A. C. 1068. landed in Somerſetſhire, and defeated Eadnoth, who attempted to oppoſe their progreſs; but, as the natives did not eſpouſe their cauſe, they ravaged the country, and reimbarked.

Edgar Atheling and ſeveral noblemen retire to Scotland.

Theſe commotions happening on the back of one another, ſeem to confirm the Conqueror's ſuſpicion and hatred of the Engliſh; whom he therefore reſolved for the future to rule with ſeverity and circumſpection. He ordered a great number of individuals to be impriſoned, without any cauſe aſſigned, for no other reaſon than to prevent their engaging in conſpiracies; and thoſe who dreaded the ſame treatment determined to anticipate his caution, by withdrawing from the kingdom of their own accord. Goſpatric and Merleſwain, two noblemen in the North, inſpired with this apprehenſion for themſelves as well as for Edgar Atheling, perſuaded that prince to accompany them to Scotland, to which he accordingly retired by ſea, with his mother Agatha, and his two ſiſters, Margaret and Chriſtina; and there they met with a very hoſpitable reception from Malcolm, who married the eldeſt ſiſter, by whom he had Mathilda or Maud, grandmother of Henry II. king of England, in whom the Saxon was united with the Norman blood. Malcolm's generoſity and marriage drew a great number of the diſcontented lords into Scotland, where they formed projects for delivering their country from the Norman yoke. They carried on a cloſe correſpondence with all the malcontents who remained in England: ſome of their number repaired to Denmark, where they importuned Swein for aſſiſtance, and others had recourſe to the Iriſh, who ſeemed very well diſpoſed to ſuccour them in their endeavours: but their chief hope reſted upon Malcolm, who had already intereſted himſelf ſo warmly in their behalf. Had all thoſe negotiations been carried on with vigour and unanimity at the ſame time, and the Engliſh agreed in the choice of an enterprizing

Flor. Wig. Hoved.

prizing chief, who had importance enough to maintain his precedency, perhaps William might have been obliged to renounce his conqueſt; but the individuals were undetermined, jealous, and independent of each other; conſequently their councils were diſtracted, and their allies unreſolved. A. C. 1068.

William was not ignorant of theſe machinations, and ſuſpecting the Northumbrians, whom he knew to be a reſtleſs people, would not long remain quiet after the retreat of his army, he detached Robert de Cumin, with ſeven hundred ſoldiers, to take poſſeſſion of Durham, in order to maintain the peace of the county, of which this general was appointed governor. Notwithſtanding the caution he received from biſhop Egelwin, who adviſed him to be upon his guard againſt the animoſity of the inhabitants, he permitted his men to range about the city in ſmall parties, and commit all manner of inſults and rapine, and even to make incurſions into the adjacent country, which they plundered at will. Theſe violences incenſed the Northumbrians to ſuch a degree, that they aſſembled in great numbers, and, breaking into the city, ſlew all the Normans that fell in their way; then they attacked the archbiſhop's palace, in which Cumin was lodged, but meeting with ſuch a vigorous reſiſtance from the governor and his attendants, that they could not force the gates, they ſet fire to the caſtle, and conſumed Robert and all his followers. The Normans are maſſacred at Durham. Sim. Dun.

The people of York, animated by the ſucceſs of this enterprize, fell upon their governor Robert Fitzrichard, whom they ſlew with part of his garriſon; and ſome noblemen in the country joining them in the inſurrection, they beſieged the caſtle, which was bravely defended by William Mallet, who ſent immediate notice of his ſituation to the king. Soon as William received this intelligence he ordered his forces to march, and advanced with ſuch expedition, that the beſiegers had ſcarce any The inhabitants of York revolt, and are reduced by William. A. C. 1069.

A. C. 1069 intimation of his approach, until he was in ſight of their works. An engagement immediately enſued, and they were routed with great ſlaughter; for he was ſo much incenſed, that he granted no quarter to the vanquiſhed. Here he ſtaid a week, during which another fortreſs was erected, and then he retired to Wincheſter; yet, he was no ſooner departed, than the inhabitants attacked both caſtles, and were repulſed.

The ſons of Harold make another deſcent in Devonſhire, and are routed.

The nation being thus unſettled, and every day threatened with freſh commotions, William ſent his queen back to Normandy; and a good number of his Norman officers, tired with the fatigue of the ſervice, and intimidated by the proſpect of continual wars and deſolation, deſired they might be diſmiſſed to their own country; rejecting the offers of conſiderable rewards and preferments, rather than encounter the dangers that muſt have attended their ſtay in England. Amongſt thoſe who deſerted their maſter in this emergency, were Hugh de Grentemeſnil and Humphrey de Tolleul, governors of Wincheſter and Haſtings, whoſe lands William confiſcated out of reſentment for their deſertion; nor could he ever be prevailed upon to reſtore their heirs to the dignities thus forfeited. The effects of the negotiations carried on by the Engliſh malcontents now began to appear. The ſons of Harold made another attempt from Ireland, and landed in the northern parts of Devonſhire; but were ſo vigorouſly attacked by Bryan, ſon of Eudo, count of Bretagne, that they were fain to reimbark by night, with the loſs of ſeventeen hundred men.

Flor. Wig.

The Daniſh fleet enters the Humber.

In a little time after this attempt, the Daniſh fleet appeared on the eaſtern coaſt of England, under the command of Oſbern, brother to Swein, whoſe two ſons, Harold and Canute, were on board. Their forces landed in different counties, where they met with divers repulſes, till at length arriving at the mouth of the Humber, they were joined by

Edgar Atheling and the discontented lords, with a fleet of ships and a body of land-forces from Scotland; and sailing up the river together, were still further reinforced by the inhabitants of Yorkshire and Northumberland, commanded by Gaius, Marius, and Archillus. All these forces thus joined, amounted to a considerable army, with which they advanced to besiege York, the garrison of which was commanded by Mallet, who ordered the suburbs to be burnt down, that they might not afford lodgments or materials to the enemy. The wind being very high when this order was put in execution, the flames communicated themselves to the city, which was totally reduced to ashes; and the Danes taking advantage of the consternation and perplexity that such an accident must have produced, entered the castle pell-mell, and put all the Normans to the sword. The whole city, with the cathedral and monastery of St. Peter, perished by this conflagration; and of three thousand Normans, divided in the two forts, none but Mallet, his wife, and children, and some of the principal officers, were spared. These the Danes took prisoners, and carried to their ships in the Humber, together with a very considerable booty; leaving an English garrison in the place, under the command of count Waltheof, son of the renowned Siward.

A. C. 1069. The Danes join a reinforcement of Scots and English, and besiege York.

When William was informed of this disaster, he swore by the splendour of God, that he would not leave a Northumbrian alive; and when he arrived on the borders of Yorkshire, he began to put his menaces in execution, committing terrible ravages and destroying every thing that fell in his way. By this time the Danes had taken possession of a strong post, between the Ouse and the Trent, from whence he saw it would be a very difficult enterprize to dislodge them; he therefore had recourse to a more easy expedient, and sent private emissaries, with an offer of a large sum, to

William bribes the Danes, and besieges the fortress in York, which is bravely defended by Waltheof.

A. C. 1069. Osbern, and permission to pillage all the sea-coast, provided he would desist from other acts of hostility, and retire in the spring. These terms were embraced, and he returned in the spring to Denmark, where his brother Swein punished him severely for having so perfidiously deserted his allies. After this capitulation, the king advanced against York, the siege of which he immediately undertook, and having made some progress in his operations, ordered an assault to be given. The attack was very furious: but the place was defended so vigorously by the English and Scots, that the Normans were repulsed with great slaughter; the valiant Waltheof planted himself in the breach, and with his battle-ax cleft down the assailants as fast as they advanced. This worthy son of old Siward, count of Northumberland, behaved with such vigilance, conduct, and intrepidity, in the defence of the place, that William began to despair of reducing it, when famine compelled the governor to capitulate. The king, who had been an eye-witness of his extraordinary merit, not only granted him honourable terms, but afterwards bestowed his own niece Judith upon him in marriage, and created him successively count of Northampton, Huntingdon, and Northumberland. He, at the same time, received Gospatric into his favour, and found him a faithful and serviceable adherent in the sequel; but he punished the rest of the officers and soldiers of the garrison with great severity, and mulcted the inhabitants in a very large fine.

The king commits horrible ravages in the North,

The city being properly secured with Norman garrisons, he gave a loose to his vengeance against the Northumbrians, and ravaged the country in such a cruel manner, that there was not a house left standing between York and Durham. He did not even spare the churches and other public buildings. This desolation was attended with the most shocking

ſhocking miſery: the wretched people, deprived of habitation and ſubſiſtence, wandered about in diſtraction and deſpair, ſeeing their tender infants periſhing by famine and cold, and their friends and neighbours falling in heaps; after having endeavoured to prolong their lives by devouring dogs, cats, vermin, and even feeding upon human carcaſes. From ſuch ſcenes of horror and diſtreſs, great numbers of the common people fled into Scotland, and ſettled in the lowlands, which they greatly improved with agriculture: abundance of the better ſort, whoſe eſtates were confiſcated, or whoſe minds were averſe to the Norman ſway, retired alſo to that country, where they were kindly received by queen Margaret and her huſband Malcolm, who aſſigned lands for their maintenance; and from theſe ſome of the beſt Scottiſh families are derived.

A. C. 1069.

G. Malmeſ. Sim. Dun.

Leſley de origine & geſt. Scotor.

Rebellion multiplied like the Hydra's heads; one revolt was no ſooner quelled in one place, than two freſh commotions began in other parts of the country. When William ſet out on the northern expedition, the people inhabiting the counties of Somerſet and Dorſet, roſe in arms, and beſieged Montacute; but were defeated by the juſticiary, Geoffry biſhop of Coutance, who marched againſt them with the forces of London, Hants, and Wiltſhire: at the ſame time Edric the Foreſter inveſted Shrewsbury, which, however, he could not reduce; and the people of Devonſhire and Cornwall undertook the ſiege of Exeter, which they were obliged to raiſe, by the bravery of the garriſon, aſſiſted by the inhabitants.

The men of Cheſhire riſe under Edric the Foreſter.

Againſt the Welſh and Cheſhire men, who ſtill kept in a body under Edric, the king began his march from York acroſs the country; and in the courſe of his route through fens, marſhes, woods, and over mountains, the army was ſo much fatigued, that the ſoldiers of Anjou, Maine, and Bretagne, deſired

William marches to Cheſter, is reconciled to Edric, and crowned again at Wincheſter.

A. C. 1069. desired to be dismissed. William, however, encouraged them to proceed, and they arrived at Chester, where he made overtures of accommodation to Edric, whose valour he admired; and that nobleman complying with his proposals, ever after enjoyed a great share of his confidence and esteem. Flor. Wig. This was a more effectual step towards the pacification of Mercia, than that of building castles at Chester and Stafford, which being finished and supplied with garrisons, he marched to Salisbury, where he dismissed all his troops with suitable rewards, except those who had murmured in his march; and these he detained forty days after the rest were disbanded, by way of punishment for their mutinous behaviour: thence he repaired to Winchester, where he was crowned by Ermenfroy, bishop of Sion, assisted by John and Peter, two cardinals sent over as legates from the pope.

His severity to the English, and partiality to the Normans.

All the sources of rebellion being now exhausted by policy or war, William, in order to prevent their filling again, resolved to depress all Englishmen of power and credit in such a manner as to render them incapable of raising any considerable disturbance against his reign for the future. With this view he suddenly deprived them of all their offices, baronies, and fiefs holding of the crown, and distributed them among the Normans and other strangers who had followed his fortune. But as these bore a small proportion in point of number to the English who were stripped, he loaded his countrymen with benefits before he could dispose of all the lands taken from the natives. He bestowed upon his uterine brother Robert, the county of Cornwall, comprehending two hundred and eighty-eight manours, besides five hundred and fifty-eight, which he possessed in other provinces. His next brother Odo was created count-palatine of Kent and high justiciary of England, with above four hundred

hundred fiefs in different provinces. William Fitz-osborne's ſervices were compenſated with the whole county of Hereford. William's nephew, Hugh Loup, was preſented with the county-palatine of Cheſter, to be held with all the rights of regality, as independent of the crown. His ſon-in-law Alain Fergeant, duke of Bretagne, was put in poſſeſſion of all the eſtates formerly belonging to count Morcar, with the ſame rights of regality. To Roger de Montgomery he gave firſt of all the towns of Arundel and Chicheſter, and afterwards the county of Salop. Walter Giffard obtained the county of Buckingham; and that of Surry fell to the ſhare of William Warren. Eudes, count of Blois, received the lordſhip of Holderneſs. Raoul de Guair, of Bretagne, was created count or earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, and lord of Norwich. Henry de Ferrieres was complimented with the caſtle of Tutbury. And Geoffry, biſhop of Coutance, juſticiary of England, poſſeſſed two hundred and eighty manours, which he bequeathed at his death to his nephew Robert de Mowbray. All theſe poſſeſſions were held by the ſame tenour as the eſtates in Normandy, where the feudal law prevailed in full force; ſubject to the ſame forfeitures, and deſcending in the ſame order of ſucceſſion. Thus was laid the foundation of what is called the common law of England, the terms and proceedings of which, ſo far as it relates to tenures and eſtates, are evidently derived from the language and cuſtoms of the Normans. A. C. 1069. Spel. Gloſſ. Brady.

In this manner was England delivered into the hands of foreigners; and we may well ſuppoſe that the Norman lords would parcel out thoſe lands in copyholds or inferior fiefs to their own countrymen. The barons exerciſed all kinds of juriſdictions within their own manours: they held courts, in which they adminiſtered juſtice to their own vaſſals. Norman laws, cuſtoms, and language introduced into England.

A. C. 1070. ſals. The diſputes ariſing between the tenants of different baronies were decided in the county or hundred courts, and the ſuits between barons were cognizable only in the king's tribunals. The judges and lawyers were Normans; conſequently the pleadings were carried on in the language of that country: ſo that the Engliſh could expect very little redreſs, when they complained of the oppreſſion and inſults they underwent from their foreign Reliq. Spel. ſuperiors. Although, upon a repreſentation of the hardſhips ſuffered in this reſpect by the people, made by Guiſmond, afterwards cardinal and biſhop of Averſa, William conſented to allow them the benefits of ſome of the old laws, relating to forfeitures, fines, and amerciaments, in criminal matters, and the rates of reliefs and mortuaries due to ſuperior lords, thoſe laws were eaſily wreſted or evaded to anſwer the purpoſes of oppreſſion. Nay, to ſuch ſlaviſh reſtrictions were they reduced, that all perſons whatſoever of the commonalty in towns and villages, were commanded on pain of death to put out their fires and candles on the ringing of a bell, which was thence diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of couvre feu, or cover fire, ſince corrupted into Du Moulin. curfew; a regulation which, though it had been practiſed at Caen in Normandy, for the prevention of riots, conflagrations, and other miſchievous accidents, was, by the free independent ſpirit of the Engliſh, conſtrued into the moſt deſpotic exertion of arbitrary power, and reſented accordingly.

The clergy are oppreſſed. The ſeverity of the Conqueror's plan was not confined to the nobility and the commons, but extended alſo to the clergy, whoſe charters he violated without ſcruple, paying no manner of regard to the imprecations which former kings had denounced againſt thoſe of their ſucceſſors who ſhould attempt to infringe or annul the exemptions which they granted to biſhops, abbeys, and churches. He ordained that

that church-lands, as well as others, ſhould be ſubject to military ſervice, and furniſh a certain number of horſemen in time of war; and if any eccleſiaſtic refuſed to comply with this ordinance, he was removed from his benefice, which was given to a ſtranger: beſides, he lodged almoſt his whole army at free-quarters in monaſteries. By theſe means he maintained his troops, without diminiſhing his own revenue, and at the ſame time kept a neceſſary watch over the conduct of the monks, who were very apt to intermeddle in politics. He executed another project, which was ſtill more provoking to that venerable body, and intailed upon him the ſecret curſes of the people. Being informed by his emiſſaries, that many families had depoſited their plate and money in monaſteries, he ordered all thoſe religious houſes to be ſearched, and ſeized upon every thing that was valuable, pretending it belonged to the rebels: he did not even ſpare the ſhrines of ſaints and the ſacred vaſes on this occaſion. A. C. 1070.

Not yet ſatisfied with theſe meaſures for the humiliation of the clergy, he reſolved to depreſs ſome biſhops and abbots, whoſe wealth and credit he looked upon with jealouſy and diſquiet. That he might proceed, however, in a judicial form on ſuch important affairs, he directed the pope's two legates to aſſemble a council at Weſtminſter, in which Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was depoſed for having intruded himſelf into that ſee, of which his predeceſſor Robert had not been canonically deprived. Agelmar, biſhop of Elmham in Eaſt-Anglia, Algeric of Durham, and ſome other prelates, diſagreeable to the king, met with the ſame fate; while others, to whoſe conduct he could take no exception, were baniſhed and impriſoned without form of proceſs, and their places filled with ſtrangers from different climes. Lanfranc, an

Stigand, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſeveral other prelates, depoſed.

Flor. Wig.

A. C. 1070. an Italian, and formerly abbot of a monaſtery in Caen, he promoted to the ſee of Canterbury. Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, was created archbiſhop of York; the dioceſes of Wincheſter, Elmham, and Selſey, were beſtowed upon three of his own chaplains, and the abbeys from which the Engliſh were expelled, ſupplied with Norman ſuperiors: nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned that theſe places were filled with perſons of diſtinguiſhed merit.

Hoveden.

William's vaſt revenues.

William, in order to maintain thoſe encroachments on the liberty of the nation, found it neceſſary to ſupport a large ſtanding army, which could not be ſubſiſted without great oeconomy, as well as an immenſe revenue: he therefore, among other regulations, erected the court of exchequer, for auditing and paſſing the accounts of all officers employ in collecting the crown revenues; for determining all actions relating thereto, and puniſhing the exactions and irregularities of the collectors, as well as the delays and defaults of payment in the ſubject. His revenue, excluſive of the old demeſne lands ſet apart for ſupplying his houſhold with all ſorts of proviſion, conſiſted in a land-tax called Danegelt, a quit-rent out of all the lands of England, wardſhips, reliefs, and fines, livery of hereditary lands, aſſignation of dower, licences of marriage, leave to ſue in the king's court, mulcts, and forfeitures for marrying without licence, and other miſdemeanours, beſides pecuniary penalties, by which all ſorts of crimes were puniſhed; tolls and cuſtoms for paſſage, pontage, freedom of fairs and markets, protection and liberty of buying and ſelling, and duties laid upon merchandize. Beſides theſe general branches, he received occaſional aids due from the fees of thoſe who held of the crown by knight's ſervice; and occaſionally levied taillage upon ſocage tenants, and trading towns: ſo that his revenue amounted to about four hundred

dred thouſand pounds a year, every pound being really equal to that weight of ſilver; conſequently the whole to be eſtimated at twelve hundred thouſand pounds of the preſent computation: a ſum which, conſidering the difference of prices between that period and the preſent time, was equivalent to twelve millions of money of modern eſtimation. How rich and powerful then muſt this king have been, who, over and above his vaſt income, conſtantly maintained ſixty thouſand knights, by quartering them upon monaſteries or aſſigning lands for their ſubſiſtence! A. C. 1070. Ord. Vital.

This ſtanding army was more grievous to the ſubject than all other impoſitions combined; and far from taming them into abject ſubmiſſion, ſerved only to render them deſperate, and excite them to enterprizes that ſhould end either in liberty or deſtruction. A new conſpiracy was formed under the auſpices of Frederic, abbot of St. Alban's, for driving the king and Normans out of the country; and the ſcheme was executed with ſuch conduct and ſecrecy, that a conſiderable army was aſſembled before William received the leaſt intimation of their deſign. Edgar Atheling, arriving from Scotland, put himſelf at the head of this inſurrection, and was proclaimed king of England in all the places that favoured their intention. The Norman was extremely diſturbed by this bold enterprize, which ſeemed to be the prelude of a general revolt; and he imparted the ſubject of his diſquiet to Lanfranc, the new archbiſhop of Canterbury, who adviſed him to treat the Engliſh with leſs ſeverity, and commence a negotiation with the rebels before the flame ſhould ſpread itſelf all over the kingdom. William accordingly propoſed a conference with the chiefs of the malcontents at Berkhamſtead, where he heard with great temper the recapitulation of all their grievances, and not only promiſed to redreſs

An inſurrection raiſed by the abbot of St. Alban's.

A. C. 1070. redreſs them, but ſwore upon the evangeliſts he would re-eſtabliſh the laws of Edward the Confeſſor. The malcontents, ſatisfied with this condeſcenſion in a prince of his character, diſmiſſed their troops, and returned to their own homes. The king no ſooner underſtood they were diſperſed, than without paying the leaſt regard to his oath, which he conſidered as an extorted obligation, ordered a great number of thoſe who had taken up arms to be apprehended, and ſome of them were put to death, ſome impriſoned and baniſhed the realm. Edgar returned to Scotland, others fled for refuge to Ireland, Denmark, and Norway, and the abbot of St. Alban's retired to the iſle of Ely, where he ſoon died of grief and diſappointment. William immediately ſeized the effects of his monaſtery, which he would have ruined intirely, if the execution of his purpoſe had not been prevented by the remonſtrances of his favourite Lanfranc.

Mat. Paris.

Several biſhops and noblemen revolt, and retire to the iſle of Ely, which is defended by Hereward de Wake.

While the tyranny of William intimidated one part of the nation into unreſiſting ſlavery, it exaſperated others into efforts of revenge. A good number of theſe deſperate adventurers retired to the iſle of Ely, which being ſurrounded by a moraſs, they thought they ſhould be able to defend themſelves from William's power. Thither the two brothers Morcar and Edwin repaired from court, where they found themſelves expoſed to the moſt imminent danger from the king's jealouſy; though Edwin was afterwards killed by his own attendants, in his journey towards Scotland, which he undertook with a view to engage Malcolm in the cauſe of the revolters. Egelric and Egelwin, biſhops of Durham and Hereford, together with many other perſons of diſtinction, joined the malcontents of Ely, who choſe for their general the valiant Hereward de Wake, who had, ſince his return to England,

land, never ceaſed to harraſs the Normans, and was eſteemed the braveſt ſoldier and moſt expert warrior of his age. This nobleman being inveſted with the chief command, and juſtly ſuppoſing that the place would ſoon be attacked by William, employed all his ſkill and attention in augmenting and improving the defences, and laying in a ſufficient ſtore of proviſion for a tedious ſiege. The king, who was well acquainted with Hereward's capacity, ordered his troops to march immediately, in hope of ſurpriſing him before he ſhould be prepared for oppoſition; but he found ſuch precautions already taken, that he retained no hope of reducing the place by any other way than that of ſtarving the beſieged; and therefore he converted his operations into a blockade. This, however, was a very tedious method of proceeding, as Hereward was plentifully ſupplied with proviſion, and the more vexatious to William at this juncture, as he was appriſed of an irruption into the northern provinces made by Malcolm, king of Scotland. A. C. 1070. Ingulph. Hovend.

At length he contrived a ſcheme which ſucceeded to his wiſh. He ſeized the lands belonging to the abbey which ſtood within the iſle, and diſtributed them among his courtiers; an alienation that raiſed a prodigious clamour among the monks, who importuned their abbot Thurſtan to make peace with the king, ſo as that their manours ſhould be reſtored. The abbot, thus incited, ſent a private emiſſary to William, with a promiſe of delivering the iſle into his hands, together with a thouſand marks of ſilver, provided he would re-eſtabliſh him in poſſeſſion of the lands he had taken away. The king complied with this advantageous propoſal, and the monks found means to admit his troops into the iſland, ſo as to ſurpriſe the beſieged. Hereward, finding himſelf betrayed, cut his paſſage through the Norman troops, ſword in hand; but the reſt were obliged to They are betrayed by the monks. A. C. 1071.

A. C. 1071. to ſurrender at diſcretion. Some were puniſhed with the loſs of their eyes, others had their hands cut off, and a few were committed to cloſe priſon; among theſe laſt were Morcar, and Egelwin biſhop of Durham, though the latter, for having excommunicated the king, was afterwards ſtarved to death at Abingdon. The monks themſelves did not eſcape unpuniſhed, notwithſtanding the capitulation they had obtained. William not only exacted from them another thouſand marks, but ſaddled their monaſtery with the maintenance of forty horſemen.

Paris. Martin. Hoved. Orderic.

Malcolm invades England.

During theſe tranſactions, Malcolm ravaged the northern provinces with great barbarity, pillaging, burning, and deſtroying the open towns and villages, and butchering, without diſtinction of age or ſex, all thoſe miſerable wretches whom he deemed unfit for the purpoſes of ſlavery. Goſpatric, governor of Northumberland, finding himſelf too weak to oppoſe the progreſs of Malcolm by giving him battle, endeavoured to make a diverſion by entering the kingdom of Cumberland, in which he committed the like exceſſes; ſo that they ſeemed to vye with each other in acts of cruelty and depredation. William, alarmed at theſe hoſtilities, had no ſooner quelled the revolt at Ely, than he began his march for Scotland, whither Malcolm had, by this time, retired with a prodigious booty. After the Engliſh army had ſuſtained incredible fatigues in ſuch a long and troubleſome march, the king arrived on the borders, and advancing into Northumberland, found Malcolm in poſſeſſion of a very advantageous poſt, from whence he could not attempt to diſlodge him, without incurring the moſt imminent danger. William therefore encamped in his neighbourhood; and the two armies lay facing one another for ſeveral days, during which both generals ſeemed unwilling to begin a battle,

William marches againſt him, and a treaty of peace is concluded.

battle, which, in all probability would be attended with the moſt important conſequences, inaſmuch as they were pretty equally matched in courage, number, and diſcipline. Theſe conſiderations produced a treaty, for the performance of which hoſtages were given by Malcolm, who likewiſe did homage for his poſſeſſions in Cumberland. Nevertheleſs, in his return through that county, he fortified Carliſle for his own uſe; and beſtowed the earldom of Northumberland upon Waltheof, after having taken it from Goſpatric, on pretence of his having carried on a correſpondence with the rebels: that nobleman, thus deprived of his poſſeſſion, retired to Scotland, where Malcolm created him earl of Dunbar. Edgar Atheling, in conſequence of the treaty concluded between England and Scotland, renounced his claim to the throne, and in the courſe of the enſuing year repaired to Normandy, where he was graciouſly received and reſtored to his honours by the king, who ſettled upon him a mark per diem for his ſubſiſtence; though ſuch was the ſimplicity of this darling of the Engliſh, that he afterwards reſigned his penſion for a fine horſe belonging to William, which he had a deſire to poſſeſs.

A. C. 1071.

An. Sax. Ingulph.

G. Malmeſ.

Philip, king of France, who envied the proſperity of William, and became jealous of the power of ſuch a formidable vaſſal, reſolved to co-operate with the Engliſh malcontents, in hope of ſeeing the Conqueror ſtill expelled from his new kingdom. During theſe troubles, he invaded Normandy, even without a previous declaration of war; at the ſame time Fulk, count of Anjou, ſpirited up a revolt in the county of Le Maine, which William had formerly annexed to his dominions; the town and citadel of Le Mans was taken, and the Normans driven out of the country. To quell theſe commotions, the Conqueror raiſed an army of Engliſh, amounting

William makes another voyage to Normandy.

A. C. 1071. to fifty thouſand, and leaving his own countrymen to guard the kingdom, landed with the others in Normandy. Theſe being joined by a reinforcement of Normans, he took the field againſt the French and the revolters; and having reduced the province of Le Maine, and gained ſeveral advantages over the enemy, Philip thought proper to make advances towards an accommodation, and a peace was concluded at Bruyeres. While William reſided in Normandy, Gregory VII. otherwiſe known by the name of Hildebrand, the moſt inſolent pontiff that ever poſſeſſed the ſee of Rome, ſummoned him by a nuncio to do homage for the kingdom of England, as a fief of the Roman ſee, and to pay up the arrears of Romeſcot or St. Peter's penny, which had been for ſome years neglected. To this peremptory demand, William replied that he held his crown of God only and his own ſword; and when the nuncio threatened him with the cenſures of the church, he publiſhed an edict forbidding all his ſubjects to acknowledge any pope but ſuch as he ſhould approve, or receive any order from Rome without his permiſſion. This reſolute behaviour gave Gregory to underſtand, that the Norman was not a prince to be intimidated by eccleſiaſtical thunder; and therefore he deſiſted from his pretenſions, upon William's promiſing to pay the arrears that were due.

Ann. Sax.

A. C. 1073.

Eadmer. Brady.

A conſpiracy formed againſt him by the Normans in England.

The king's long abſence gave riſe to a conſpiracy in England, hatched by perſons whom he leaſt of all ſuſpected of diſaffection. Roger, the younger ſon of William Fitzoſborne, who ſucceeded to the Engliſh eſtate and earldom of Hereford, had either by way of compliment to his ſovereign, or in compliance with ſome obligation of the feudal law, ſollicited William's conſent to the marriage of his ſiſter with Ralph de Guair earl of the Eaſt-Angles. This favour was requeſted, and flatly refuſed by the

the king before his departure from England; but as the parties had agreed upon the articles, the ceremony was performed, and the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence at Exning in Suffolk, where a great number of barons, bishops, and military officers, were assembled on this occasion, and among the rest Waltheof, the new created earl of Northumberland. As the parents of the new-married couple were well acquainted with the character of William, who would never forgive this transaction, undertaken in direct opposition to his will, they took the opportunity, while the guests were warmed with wine, to introduce that subject of conversation; they inveighed against the severity of William's government; they observed that, by means of his excessive impositions, he took away with one hand what he had given with the other; that this tyranny extended even to their domestic affairs, seeing he controuled them in the disposal of their sisters and daughters. They affected to express compassion for the English nation, which he had so cruelly inslaved; they inveighed against the reserve and haughtiness of his disposition; and lastly, expatiated upon the disgrace of being subjected to the arbitrary power of a bastard and usurper. By these insinuations the guests, already intoxicated with the fumes of the entertainment, were inflamed to such a degree of temerity, that they unanimously resolved to take arms and oppose the king's return; and in the mean time determined to sollicit the assistance of Swein king of Denmark, the professed and inveterate enemy of the Norman. Next day, when Waltheof began to reflect cooly upon the danger in which he had embarked, he plainly perceived that whatever should happen, he must be a loser, because he and his country would suffer by the change of one arbitrary monarch for a number of A.C. 1073.

A. C. 1073. petty tyrants, in case they should succeed; and he being the only Englishman engaged in the conspiracy, would be the chief aim of William's vengeance, provided their scheme should miscarry, as he could not help thinking it would; besides, he was influenced on this occasion by motives of gratitude to the king, who had honoured him with particular marks of confidence and favour.

Waltheof discovers the plot, which is easily defeated.

In consequence of those suggestions, he communicated the particulars of the conspiracy to Lanfranc archbishop of Canterbury; and, by the advice of that prelate, took shipping immediately for Normandy, where he made a full discovery of the plot to the king, and met with a gracious reception. William, though he had not yet intirely appeased the troubles of his hereditary dominions, no sooner received this intelligence than he set sail for England, where he found the disturbance already suppressed by the diligence of his brother Odo, whom he had left regent of the kingdom. The two chiefs of the conspiracy had taken the field with their followers, as soon as Waltheof disappeared. Roger attempted to cross the Severne, but was prevented by Wulstan bishop of Worcester, and Urso high-sheriff of the county. Ralph advanced into the neighbourhood of Cambridge, and being defeated at Fagadun by Odo, and Geoffry the justiciary, the right foot of every prisoner was cut off by way of punishment. He himself escaped to his castle at Norwich, which was immediately invested; but despairing of pardon, in case he should fall into the king's hands, he found means

A. C. 1074. to steal away into Denmark. After his departure the castle was for some time vigorously defended by his countess, who, nevertheless, was obliged at length to capitulate, and obtained permission to follow her husband. Mean while that nobleman was favourably received at the court of Swein, who fur-

furniſhed him with a fleet of two hundred ſail, commanded by his own ſon Canute, and earl Haco, which ſoon after appeared upon the coaſt of England. But by this time all the meaſures of the conſpirators were broken, and the king's forces ready to oppoſe their landing; ſo that the Danes did not attempt to make a deſcent, but retired to the ports of Flanders, from whence Ralph repaired to an eſtate that belonged to him in Bretagne; and he was there joined by his wife and garriſon from the caſtle of Norwich. A. C. 1074. Ord. Vital. Flor. Wig. G. Malmeſb.

William, on his return to England, had ſeized the forfeited honours and eſtate of this nobleman there; and condemned Roger earl of Hereford, his own kinſman, to cloſe impriſonment. The reſt of the conſpirators were either hanged, blinded, or deprived of their hands: but the fate of Waltheof was univerſally regretted. Notwithſtanding the candour with which this noble earl had acted in this affair, and the interceſſion of Lanfranc, who pleaded his cauſe with the king, he was brought to his trial, upon the information of his own wife Judith; and being an Engliſhman poſſeſſed of a great fortune, and qualities that excited the jealouſy of the Conqueror, he was convicted of treaſon, and privately beheaded without the walls of Wincheſter. His body was at firſt thrown ignominiouſly into a ditch, where it lay a fortnight, ſlightly covered with earth, and was then removed to the chapter-houſe at Croyland, where it was honourably interred. This was the laſt Engliſhman who maintained any conſiderable power or influence in the nation. He was tall and well-proportioned; of undaunted courage and incredible bodily ſtrength; devout, generous, charitable, and exceedingly beloved: his popularity was ſuch, that a private execution was thought neceſſary. He was not only bewailed by his country, but conſidered as a martyr, Waltheof is beheaded. A. C. 1075.

A. C. 1075. and miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb: while his widow was universally abhorred, and ended her days in misery and remorse.

Ingulph. Ord. Vital.

The Conqueror having re-established the peace of his government, and extinguished the last embers of rebellion with blood, crossed the sea again, in order to execute his vengeance upon Ralph de Guair, against whom he marched into Bretagne, and besieged the city of Dal, which, however, he could not reduce, before the king of France sent forces to its relief. When he heard of their approach, he raised the siege, and retired with such precipitation, that he left all his baggage and his tents standing. Seeing little probability of succeeding in these attempts against Hoel count of Bretagne, who was Ralph's protector, he set on foot a negotiation with him, and a treaty was afterwards concluded at Bayeux; the principal article of which imported, that his daughter Constance should be given in marriage to Alain Fergant, Hoel's eldest son; and the nuptials were solemnized at Caen with great magnificence.

William returns to Normandy, and besieges the town of Dal, in Bretagne.

Ord. Vital.

Immediately after the consummation of this marriage he returned to England, where nothing remarkable happened; and he now seemed to enjoy some repose from the incessant troubles that had hitherto agitated his reign, when all of a sudden he was involved in family-disquiets. His eldest son Robert, surnamed, from his short legs, Gambaron, or Courtes-huses, had called upon his father, after the conquest of England, to perform the promise he had made, to leave him in possession of Normandy, as soon as the Conqueror himself should be master of this kingdom. This promise he had made in the French council, while he was in Paris soliciting succours for his expedition from Philip; and afterwards, in a dangerous fit of illness, he re-

Dissension between William and his eldest son Robert, who raises an insurrection in Normandy.

newed the promiſe, declared Robert heir to his hereditary dominions, and as ſuch the barons of Normandy and Maine did him homage. After having been crowned king of England, he had delayed performance, on pretence of the numerous revolts among the Engliſh, and the invaſions with which he was threatened by the Scots and Danes; but all theſe objections being removed, and the kingdom totally reduced to ſubmiſſion, when Robert reminded him of his promiſe, he flatly told him he would not undreſs himſelf before he went to bed; and therefore he muſt wait till his deceaſe. The ſon, though ambitious, brave, and enterpriſing, maintained ſuch filial reſpect for his father, that, perhaps, he would have taken no ſtep to diſturb his tranquillity, had not he been inſtigated by Ivo and Alberic, ſons of Hugh de Grentemeſnil, who, having been deprived of their father's Engliſh honours and eſtate, were enemies to the Conqueror, and let ſlip no opportunity to kindle a diſſenſion between him and his eldeſt ſon. They repreſented to Robert, whoſe temper, though mild, was yet inflammable, that his father's refuſal was not only an injury, but a flagrant affront; and that his intention was to ſhare his Norman dominions between his other two ſons, William Rufus and Henry, who had engroſſed his whole favour. At the very time, while his mind was irritated by this remonſtrance, his brothers happened, whether by accident or deſign, to behave rudely in his preſence, and beſprinkled him with ſome water, which they pretended to throw at one another in jeſt. This boyiſh inſult provoked Robert to ſuch a degree, that he drew his ſword, and miſchief would have enſued, had not the father, who was in the neighbourhood, immediately interpoſed. But, he could not allay the animoſity, which from this moment prevailed in his family. Robert and his A. C. 1075.

A. C. 1075. confederates withdrew to Rouen, in the middle of the night, hoping to ſurpriſe the caſtle; but his deſign was defeated by Roger de Ivry the governor. Thus the flame broke out, and the young Norman nobility in general declared for Robert; while the king took meaſures for ſuppreſſing the inſurrection, by giving orders to ſeize and puniſh all the partiſans of his rebellious ſon, ſome of whom were apprehended and impriſoned, and the reſt, who fled, were deprived of their eſtates. The nobility of Bretagne, Anjou, and Maine, intereſted themſelves in this quarrel, ſome declaring for the ſon, and others adhering to the father, and a ſort of piratical war was maintained three or four years, with ſome intervals of accommodation. It was in one of theſe that William croſſed the ſea to England; and in his abſence hoſtilities were renewed in Normandy. Philip king of France, envying the power and glory of William, fomented the diviſion in ſecret, encouraged Robert with magnificent promiſes of ſupport, and in the mean time aſſiſted him with the means to keep the war alive. Robert likewiſe received private ſupplies from his own mother, whoſe favourite he was, and he found other reſources in the friendſhip of the Norman lords, by whom he was exceedingly beloved.

William, not a little anxious and perplexed by theſe domeſtic troubles, levied a ſtrong army of Engliſh, and tranſported it to Normandy, where Robert being in no condition to withſtand ſuch a reinforcement, added to the Normans, who ſtill eſpouſed his father's cauſe, demanded a ſafe retreat of Philip, who, being unwilling to engage himſelf openly in a war with the king of England, prevailed upon the Vidame Helie, to admit him into Gerberoy, a ſtrong fortreſs in the Beauvoiſis. In this place Robert was joined by a great number of French noblemen, who went thither, with their

their vaſſals, to ſignalize their courage under the command of a prince who was counted one of the beſt ſoldiers of his time, and from thence they ravaged all the Vexin Norman, and the Pais de Caux. A. C. 1075.

With a view to ſtop theſe incurſions, William began his march in the depth of winter, and inveſted Gerberoy, the ſiege of which he carried on with vigour about three weeks, during which many ſallies were made, and a number of ſignal adventures in chivalry performed. In one of thoſe actions, Robert perceiving an officer of the Engliſh army, fighting on horſeback with remarkable proweſs and impetuoſity, ran at him with a lance, wounded and diſmounted him at the firſt encounter. The next blow would, in all probability, have put an end to his life, had not the vanquiſhed cavalier lifted up his beaver, and diſplayed the individual countenance of his own father. Robert, ſhocked at this outrage which he had unknowingly committed againſt the laws of nature, immediately fell upon his knees, craved pardon with tears in his eyes, and remounted his father with his own hands; William, ſtung with ſhame and indigation, inſtead of granting the pardon he requeſted, is ſaid to have curſed him with great bitterneſs. Be that as it will, he forthwith raiſed the ſiege, and returned to Rouen, where he was prevailed upon by the importunities of his queen, ſeconded by Roger earl of Shrewſbury, and ſome Norman barons, to be reconciled to his rebellious ſon, whom however, he would not truſt in Normandy after his departure, but brought him over to England on pretence of ſending him to command an army againſt the Scots, who had by this time invaded England. Malmeſb. Hoveden. Polydore Virgil.

Robert encounters and unhorſes his father in battle without knowing him. Peace is concluded.

Malcolm king of Scotland had ravaged the northern provinces during the preceding year, while William was engaged in an expedition to Wales, where-

A. C. 1077. where he received homage from the princes of that country, and compelled them to pay an annual tribute. The Scots having ſucceeded ſo well in their firſt incurſion, were encouraged to repeat the invaſion, eſpecially as the whole county of Northumberland was involved in the utmoſt confuſion and diſcord, occaſioned originally by the murder of Walcher biſhop of Durham. This prelate had, at the death of Waltheof, purchaſed the earldom of Northumberland of the king; and being a man of an eaſy, indolent diſpoſition, ſuffered his officers to oppreſs the people: he was chiefly governed by Leofwine, his chaplain, and Giſelbert, his kinſman and deputy, who, among other outrages, aſſaſſinated Legulph, a wiſe, devout, and charitable nobleman who had often adviſed the biſhop to diſcard ſuch evil counſellors. Walcher was extremely concerned at the murder of a perſon whom he eſteemed ſo much; but the perpetrators of it had gained ſuch an aſcendancy over him, that inſtead of ſurrendering them to juſtice, he endeavoured to compound the matter, by making ſome ſatisfaction to the relations of the deceaſed. With that view he appeared at a county-court at Gateſhead, where the people were ſo incenſed at his attempt to ſcreen ſuch atrocious murderers and oppreſſors, that they fell upon them without form of trial, and hewed them in pieces; then turned their ſwords againſt the biſhop, who was ſlain with all his followers. Thus aroused, they marched to Durham, and inveſted the caſtle; but, in a few days, were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, by the vigorous ſallies of the garriſon. Odo, chief juſticiary of the kingdom, was detached with a body of troops to quell this inſurrection; but, before he arrived, the mutineers had diſperſed, and the principal authors of the maſſacre quitted the kingdom. Nevertheleſs, he ordered all thoſe who were in any ſhape acceſ-

Malcolm ravages the North.

Walcher biſhop of Durham is aſſaſſinated.

A. C. 1080. Flor. Wig. Brompton.

ſary

sary to the revolt, to be put to death, deprived of their hands, or mulcted in large sums of money: he desolated the whole country, robbed the church of all its rich ornaments, and left a strong garrison in the castle. A. C. 1080. Sim. Dun.

It was on the back of this disaster, which had augmented the people's abhorrence of the Normans, that Malcolm entered Northumberland: and William sent his son Robert with a body of forces to repel him into his own country. The Scot did not think proper to wait for his approach, but returned to Scotland with a considerable booty; and the prince having advanced beyond the border, marched back to the river Tyne, on the banks of which, near Monkcester, he erected a fortress, which, in contradistinction to the other, was called Newcastle. At his return to court, finding his father still cold and indifferent, he set out upon his travels, attended by some of his Norman adherents; and having made the tour of Europe, at last fixed his residence at the court of France, where he remained till his father's death. Robert builds Newcastle upon Tyne. Ord. Vital.

We have already seen in what manner the king had fleeced the Saxons, to gratify his own avarice; and now he thought it was high time to make his advantage also of his Norman subjects, among whom he had parcelled out all the lands in the kingdom. That he might exactly know what impositions they could bear, he resolved to procure the most minute information touching the value of his own demesnes, as well as the lands which his tenants held in capite: for this purpose, he appointed commissioners to repair to the different counties, and make a general survey of the kingdom, by the verdict of juries sworn in every hundred, wapentac, or county, who specified the extent and value of all the arable land, pasture, meadow, and wood, possessed by every individual; and Origin of Doomsday-book.

A. C. 1080. and this deſcription included the numbers of freemen, ſocmen *, villains, cottagers, bordars, ſlaves, cattle, ſheep, hogs, horſes, mills, and fiſheries. Six years were conſumed in finiſhing this regiſter, which was denominated Doomſday-book, and lodged in the office of the chamberlains of the exchequer. This detail enabled him to regulate the taxations in ſuch a manner, that all the inhabitants ſhould bear their dues, in proportion of the burthen, which he laid on as heavy as they could endure; loading them not only with incredible duties and taxes, but alſo with the whole maintenance of his army, towards which he did not give one farthing out of his own coffers.

Little Doomſday.

The king depopulates Hampſhire, to form the New Foreſt.

Having taken theſe meaſures to gratify his avarice, his next care was to indulge another paſſion no leſs pernicious to his ſubjects. He loved the chace with ſuch fury of deſire, that he depopulated the country in Hampſhire, to the extent of thirty miles; turning out the inhabitants, deſtroying all the villages, houſes, plantations, and even churches, that ſtood within that tract, which was reſerved for the habitation of wild beaſts, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of the New Foreſt. In the time of the Saxon kings, all noblemen, without diſtinction, had a right to enjoy this diverſion in countries and foreſts where the game abounded: but William, either with a view to gratify his own paſſion for hunting, without participation, or in hope of raiſing money from treſpaſſes, appropriated all thoſe foreſts to himſelf, and publiſhed very ſevere laws † to pro-

* Socmen were tenants who held by no ſervile tenure, but payed their rent as a ſoke or ſign of freedom. Bordars, or Bordarii, were cottagers, who ſupplied the lord of the manor with poultry and eggs. Villains were perſons of low and ſervile condition, bound to certain work and corporal ſervice. The landlord could deprive him at pleaſure of his lands, goods, and chattels, and compel him to pay redemption money, before he could give away his own daughter in marriage.

† A perſon convicted of having killed a deer, hare, or wild boar, was puniſhed with the loſs of his eyes; whereas he might have atoned for murder, by a moderate fine.

hibit

hibit his ſubjects from encroaching upon this part of his prerogative. The depopulation of the country was not more ſeverely felt by the commons, than theſe reſtrictions were reſented by the nobility, both Normans and Engliſh, who looked upon them as an intolerable grievance, which deprived them of the chief amuſement in which they uſed to conſume their vacant hours. But he paid very little regard to their murmurs, while he derived ſuch advantages from their tranſgreſſion; for they were ſo much addicted to hunting, that they choſe to undergo all the pecuniary penalties, rather than be deprived of that exerciſe. A. C. 1080. Chron. Sax.

This was one of the few inſtances, in which he made no difference between Saxon and Norman. In other reſpects, his partiality for his native country ſeemed every day to increaſe. Though he could not, with any decency, aboliſh the laws that were aſcribed to his old friend Edward the Confeſſor, he introduced divers alterations in the manner of adminiſtring juſtice. He prohibited the biſhops from aſſiſting as uſual at county-courts, or ſhire-gemots, and aſſigned to them a ſeparate tribunal, on pretence of diſtinguiſhing between civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs; but in reality with a view to deprive the prelates of their ſhare of the mulcts and amerciaments. He inſtituted new tribunals, ſome of which were ambulatory and followed the court, to the great inconvenience of the parties; and in theſe courts the proceedings were carried on in the Norman language, for the attainment of which he erected ſchools in all the towns and burroughs of the kingdom, commanding all parents to ſend their children to theſe ſeminaries, under ſevere penalties. He ordered the laws to be publiſhed in the Norman tongue; and at court no other was ever heard. William's intention was to ſupplant the Saxon with his own vernacular language: but all his efforts

William makes alterations in the courts of juſtice.

miſ-

A. C. 1080.

miſcarried; the mixture of the two produced a third, which was different from either, and yet had affinity with both. The Engliſh were not only robbed of their language, but alſo pillaged of their ſubſtance, and in proportion as they became needy, their invaders grew rich.

Polydore Virgil. Ingulgh.

Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, forfeited and impriſoned.

Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, the king's uterine brother, after having reſided fifteen or ſixteen years in England, amaſſed ſo much treaſure that he reſolved to purchaſe the papacy. In the mean time he bought a ſumptuous palace at Rome, in which he propoſed to live till the death of the preſent incumbent, that he might be at hand to ſecure the ſucceſſion. He took all his meaſures with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and even perſuaded Hugh earl of Cheſter, together with a great number of his adherents and tenants, to follow him into Italy, where he would improve their fortunes under the ſhadow of St. Peter's chair. Having concerted all his meaſures for the execution of this project, he took the opportunity of the king's abſence to equip a veſſel at the iſle of Wight, where he propoſed to embark: but while he was detained by contrary winds, William received intimation of his deſign, and reſolving to prevent the exportation of ſo much treaſure from his dominions, croſſed the ſea in perſon, and ſurpriſed him juſt as he was ſtepping on board. When he ordered his attendants to arreſt Odo, they were afraid of attaching the perſon of a prelate; ſo that William was obliged to ſeize him with his own hand. Odo appealed to the pope, who, he ſaid, was the only perſon upon earth who had power to try a biſhop; and the king replied, that he did not ſeize him as biſhop of Bayeux, but as earl of Kent, in which capacity he ſhould give an account of his adminiſtration. Mean while he confiſcated his effects, and ordered him to be tranſported to Normandy, and impriſoned in the caſtle of

of Rouen, where he remained till the death of the Conqueror, notwithſtanding all the efforts of pope Gregory, who ſoothed and threatened William by turns in his behalf. A. C. 1082.

Gul. Pict.

Immediately after this tranſaction, William loſt his queen Mathilda, who died of a lingering diſorder, after having been his conſort three and thirty years; and he was ſo exceedingly afflicted at her death, that he ever after abſtained from his uſual recreations. In the midſt of his ſorrow at this event, he was alarmed by an inſurrection in Le Maine, the nobility of which had been always averſe to the Norman government. Hubert, vicomte de Beaumont, diſguſted by ſome treatment he had received from the Conqueror, retired to his caſtle of Suſanne, which in thoſe days was counted impregnable, and from thence made incurſions into Le Maine, ravaging the country and ſurpriſing detached parties of the Norman garriſons. The king marched immediately to his fortreſs, which he found ſo ſtrong, that he did not think proper to beſiege it in form; but erected a fort in the neighbourhood, in which he left a garriſon, to check the viſcount's incurſions, under the command of his ſon-in-law Alain Fregnant, who was at firſt ſuperior to the enemy. Hubert, however, in the ſequel, was joined by ſuch a number of friends and allies from France and Burgundy, as enabled him to inſult the Normans at the very gate of their fort, and maintain the war for three years, during which he obtained ſeveral advantages over William's troops, and at length obtained a complete victory. The king finding it impracticable to reduce him by force, offered to be reconciled to him if he would return to his duty; and Hubert, being furniſhed with a ſafe conduct, repaired to England, where he was graciouſly received by the Conqueror, who re-

An inſurrection in Normandy, headed by Hubert, vicomte de Beaumont.

Ord. Vital.

A. C. 1084. re-eſtabliſhed him in the poſſeſſion of all his father's eſtate.

The Danes threaten an invaſion of England.

Perhaps this war would not have continued ſo long, had not William's preſence been neceſſary in England, to provide againſt an invaſion with which he was threatened by the king of Denmark. The Engliſh refugees in that country had aſſured Canute, that their countrymen wanted nothing but an opportunity to ſhake off the Norman yoke; and that prince believed this was a favourable conjuncture for the conqueſt of England, to the crown of which he had ſome pretenſions. He therefore equipped a powerful armament; and William being apprized of his deſign, brought over an army of foreigners from the continent, becauſe he could not confide in the fidelity of his Engliſh ſubjects. At the ſame time he impoſed a tax of ſix ſhillings upon every hide of land, which was three times the amount of the ordinary Danegelt; and ſuppoſing the Danes would make their deſcent in the North, he ordered the whole province of Northumberland to be laid waſte, that they might find no ſubſiſtance at their arrival. Canute being informed of theſe precautions, deſiſted from his enterprize; and William, hearing he had laid aſide the deſign, diſbanded his forces: but the money raiſed for their maintenance was never reſtored. On the contrary, he levied a new tax on occaſion of knighting his youngeſt ſon Henry, in imitation of an eſtabliſhed cuſtom in Normandy, where a preſent was always made to the father when the ſon received the order of knighthood.

G. Malmeſ. Rog. de Hoved.

Edgar Atheling ſets out for Paleſtine.

William found no difficulty in ſaddling his ſubjects with any incumbrances they could bear: he was now as abſolute as a Perſian emperor; and had nothing to do but ſpeak and be obeyed. The Normans knew their poſſeſſions depended entirely upon his pleaſure; and the Engliſh were ſo effectually

tually cruſhed, that almoſt every nobleman of their nation was executed, impriſoned, or exiled. Thoſe very few who ſtill breathed their native air, and enjoyed habitations of their own, were ſo much expoſed to the watchful jealouſy of the king, that their liberty and lives exiſted on the moſt precarious tenure. Edgar Atheling, though there was nothing formidable in his talents, and nothing enterpriſing in his genius, was ſtill the object of William's fear and ſuſpicion, becauſe he ſaw that prince, even in the low ſtate of dependence to which he had reduced him, careſſed by his ſubjects, on account of his birth, as well as of the amiable qualities of his mind and perſon. Edgar, with the ſmall ſhare of diſcernment he poſſeſſed, could plainly perceive the dangerous predicament in which he ſtood, and therefore deſired permiſſion to go and ſerve as a volunteer againſt the infidels in Paleſtine. Nothing could be more agreeable than this requeſt to the Conqueror, who not only applauded his zeal for the chriſtian religion, but ſupplied him with money to defray the expence of his voyage; and he departed without delay, accompanied by two hundred Engliſh gentlemen, who, having loſt their eſtates in England, reſolved to try their fortune abroad. A. C. 1084. Walſing.

William being thus rid of all apprehenſion of rivalſhip, and ſtill eager to augment his own power and territory, revived the pretenſions he had to the Vexin Francois, which had been ceded to his father by Henry, king of France, as a recompence for the aſſiſtance he had granted to that prince in his diſtreſſes. When the duke of Normandy died in the Holy Land, Philip, the ſucceſſor of Henry, took advantage of William's minority, and the troubles which broke out in Normandy, to ſeize and appropriate to himſelf this territory, which the hurry of the Conqueror's more intereſting af- William revives his pretenſions to the Vexin Francois.

A. C. 1084. fairs had hitherto hindered him to reclaim. Perhaps, as he was now in the decline of life, and much incommoded by corpulency, he might have allowed his title to lie dormant for the reſt of his reign, had it not been rouſed by ſeveral petty incidents, which irritated the two monarchs againſt each other. Henry, the youngeſt ſon of the Conqueror, is ſaid to have quarrelled at cheſs with Lewis ſurnamed the Groſs, Philip's eldeſt ſon, whom he wounded with the board, during a viſit to the French king, who then reſided at Conflans St. Honorine, from whence Henry and his brother eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes. Philip reſented this violence, though his own ſon had been the aggreſſor, and ordered his troops in garriſon at Mante to croſs the Eure and ravage Normandy: ſo that William reſolved to retort theſe depredations; but, in the mean time, he began, by the advice of his phyſicians, to undergo a courſe of medicines for the reduction of his unwieldy bulk. Philip, being made acquainted with this circumſtance, ſcoffingly aſked one day in public, if the good woman of England was ſtill in the ſtraw? and this ſarcaſm being reported to William, he ſent a meſſage to the French king, giving him notice that he would ſoon be afoot; and at his churching preſent him with ſuch a number of lights *, as would make his kingdom too hot for his reſidence.

Meets with an accident, makes his will, and dies at Hermenſude.

In order to perform this promiſe, he levied a ſtrong army, and, entering the Iſle of France, deſtroyed and burned all the villages and houſes without oppoſition: then inveſting Mante, which he took by aſſault, the town was plundered, and with all the churches and monaſteries reduced to aſhes. Before the flames were extinguiſhed, William en-

* Alluding to the cuſtom of thoſe days, in which women preſented wax tapers at the altar, upon their being churched after lying-in.

tered

tered in triumph; and his horſe chancing to place his fore feet on ſome hot aſhes, plunged with ſuch violence, that the rider was thrown forward, and bruiſed upon the pummel of the ſaddle to ſuch a degree, that he ſuffered a relapſe, and was obliged to return to Rouen. There he was attended by Gilbert, biſhop of Lyſieux, and Goulard, abbot of Jumieges, the moſt ſkilful phyſicians of the time: but, notwithſtanding all their endeavours, his diſtemper gained ground; and they at laſt gave him to underſtand that his end approached. Finding he could no longer enjoy the fruits of his uſurpation, he reſolved to compound with heaven for all the blood he had ſhed, and the injuſtice he had committed; and diſtributed great part of the treaſure he had amaſſed in alms to the poor, and benefactions to churches and monaſteries, particularly to thoſe of Mante, which he had ſo lately deſtroyed. Then he ſettled his laſt will, in which he bequeathed Normandy and Le Maine to his eldeſt ſon Robert, whom he hated; but he ſaw there was no other method to preſerve the peace of his hereditary dominions. To Henry he left five thouſand pounds ſterling, and his mother's jointure, without one acre of territory; and though he would not pretend to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of England, which he had uſurped and oppreſſed in ſuch a cruel manner, he expreſſed his wiſh that the crown might devolve to his favourite ſon William, whom he immediately diſpatched with letters to archbiſhop Lanfranc, ſoliciting that prelate's intereſt in his behalf. To the abbey of St. Stephen at Caen, he preſented his crown and ſceptre, the precious ſtone chalice, the golden candleſtics, and other regalia uſed at his coronation; and gave order for releaſing the earls Morcar, Roger, Siward ſon of Beorn, and Wulnoth, brother to Harold, who had been an hoſtage and priſoner ſince the reign of Edward the Con-

A. C. 1084.

G. Malmeſ. Ord. Vit. A. C. 1086.

A. C. 1086. feſſor. He was not ſo favourably inclined towards Odo, biſhop of Bayeux; for when his brother, count of Mortain, interceded in his behalf, William obſerved, that he ſhould do an injuſtice to mankind, in ſetting at liberty that prelate, whom he knew to be a turbulent, ambitious churchman, cruel, vindictive, profligate, and rapacious: nevertheleſs, he yielded to Robert's importunities, and ordered the biſhop to be enlarged, though he prognoſticated abundance of miſchief as the conſequence of his liberty. The Conqueror, when he had thus regulated his temporal affairs, was conveyed in a litter to Hermentrude, a village near Rouen, where he might ſettle the concerns of his ſoul, without
A. C. 1087. noiſe or diſturbance; and there he reſigned his breath, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, after having reigned two and fifty in Normandy, and one and twenty in England.

His burial and character. His body was depoſited in a church at Caen, which he himſelf had founded; and his two elder ſons being abſent, Henry ſuperintended the funeral, which was far from being magnificent, and attended with a very remarkable incident. The corps being carried into the church of St. Stephen, and the ſervice begun, one Aſcelin Fitz-Arthur, a Vavaſor, preſſing through the crowd, and ſtanding upon a high ſtone, called with a loud voice to the prelates that were in attendance, forbidding them to inter the body in that place, which was the area of his father's houſe, unjuſtly ſeized by the Conqueror, whom he now ſummoned before the divine tribunal to anſwer for that act of oppreſſion. The biſhops immediately enquired into the nature of this charge, and finding it juſt, agreed to pay the demand *.

From

* His death was no ſooner known than Henry ſnatched his legacy out of the treaſury; the noblemen retired to ſecure their caſtles; and the domeſtics having robbed the houſhold, ran away: ſo that the body was left naked and un-

From the tranſactions of William's reign, he appears to have been a prince of great courage, capacity, and ambition, politic, cruel, vindictive, and rapacious; ſtern and haughty in his deportment; reſerved and jealous in his diſpoſition. He was fond of glory, and though parſimonious in his houſhold, delighted in pomp and oſtentation. Though ſudden and impetuous in his enterprizes, he was cool, deliberate, and indefatigable in times of danger and difficulty. His aſpect was nobly ſevere and imperious, his ſtature tall and portly, his conſtitution robuſt, and the compoſition of his bones and muſcles ſo ſtrong, there was hardly a man of that age, who could bend his bow or handle his arms *.

A. C. 1087.

Pol. Virg. Brompton.

unattended. At the interment, the ſtone coffin was ſo ill-proportioned, that in thruſting down the corpſe, the belly burſt, giving vent to ſuch an intolerable ſtench, that the people ran out of the church, and the prieſts were obliged to hurry over the ceremony, notwithſtanding the convenience of their incenſe and perfumes.

* By his wife Mathilda, of Flanders, William had four ſons and five daughters; namely, Robert, duke of Normandy; Richard, killed by a ſtag in the New Foreſt; William and Henry, who in their turns ſucceeded him on the Engliſh throne: Cecilia, abbeſs of a monaſtery at Caen; Conſtance, who married Alain Fergant duke of Bretagne; Adda, the wife of Stephen count of Blois, whoſe ſon of the ſame name mounted the throne of England; Margaret, who died in her infancy; and Eleonora, married to Alphonſo, king of Gallicia.

WILLIAM II.

Surnamed RUFUS.

A. C. 1087. The Conqueror ſucceeded by William Rufus, who owes his elevation to Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

WILLIAM RUFUS was overtaken by the news of his father's death, while he waited for a favourable wind at Witſand; but this event he thought proper to conceal in England, until he had taken meaſures for ſecuring the crown. Perhaps he might have found more difficulty in aſcending the throne, had Robert been preſent to avail himſelf of his right of primogeniture; for William was hated both by Normans and Engliſh, on account of his ferocious diſpoſition. However, he owed his ſudden elevation to the credit of Lanfranc, and the attachment of Eudes, high-treaſurer, who not only made ſure of Dover, Wincheſter, Pevenſey, Haſtings, and other fortified places, but alſo delivered into his hands the riches of the Conqueror, amounting to ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling in money, beſides plate and jewels to a great value. Part of this treaſure he diſtributed among the churches and monaſteries, according to the late king's intention and deviſal, in order to attach the clergy to his intereſt, and part he beſtowed in largeſſes upon the ſoldiery. As it was found neceſſary to anticipate any deſigns that might be formed by Robert's partiſans, the archbiſhop of Canterbury exerted all his influence in favour of William, and having previouſly ſounded the individuals, aſſembled the majority of the biſhops and nobility at Weſtminſter, where the ceremony of his coronation was performed, about eighteen days after his father's death. In the beginning of his reign, the Engliſh nation began to believe themſelves happily diſappointed in their expectation of

Daniel. Bromp. Hoved. Eadmer.

Rufus,

WILLIAM RUFUS.

Rufus, who had hitherto diſcovered a moſt brutal diſpoſition; for he now ſeemed to pay the utmoſt regard to the councils of Lanfranc, which were mild and wholeſome, and altogether calculated for the advantage of the nation. This conduct, however, was no more than a cloak, with which he diſguiſed, for the preſent, all the bad qualities of his father, which he poſſeſſed without any of his virtues, except courage, if a ſavage ferocity deſerves that appellation. A. C. 1087.

Robert received the tidings of his father's deceaſe at Abbeville, from whence he forthwith repaired to Rouen, and took poſſeſſion of Normandy without oppoſition. This prince was the reverſe of William in every thing but courage, in which and military capacity he yielded to no warrior of his time. He was open, generous, and humane, even to an exceſs that became criminal and pernicious; for he impoveriſhed himſelf to gratify the avarice of his adherents, and beſtowed the moſt conſiderable governments of the province upon noblemen whoſe fidelity he had reaſon to ſuſpect. Morcar and Ulnoth, whom Henry had detained in priſon, notwithſtanding the Conqueror's orders, Robert immediately enlarged, together with Duncan, the natural ſon of Malcolm, king of Scotland, who had been taken in the courſe of the war between the two nations. Robert's generoſity.

Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, became his chief counſellor; but not contented with the favour of the duke of Normandy, he repaired to England, in order to ſollicit the reſtitution of his eſtate in that country, which William had confiſcated. He not only ſucceeded in this ſuit, but alſo ingratiated himſelf with William Rufus, whom he nevertheleſs reſolved to depoſe. He took umbrage at the credit of Lanfranc, whom he mortally hated for having adviſed the Conqueror to prevent his journey to Odo hatches a conſpiracy againſt William.

A. C. 1087. Rome; and he longed to raiſe Robert to the throne of England, becauſe in this event he laid his account with being prime miniſter. He communicated his deſign to ſome Norman lords, who had eſtates upon the continent as well as in England, and thought they held them on a very precarious tenure under different ſovereigns, whereas an union of the two countries under one king would ſecure their property in both. This conſideration, added to the right of primogeniture and the liberality of Robert, eaſily determined them in his favour; while the Engliſh noblemen, who were ſo depreſſed and deſperate in their fortunes, ſaw nothing but advantage to themſelves in ſuch a change; and therefore willingly engaged in the conſpiracy. Odo's intrigues being attended with ſuch ſucceſs, he ſent an account of his negotiation to Robert, aſſuring him that nothing was wanted but his preſence, and a body of Norman troops, for the recovery of the Engliſh crown, from which he had been ſo unjuſtly excluded. Robert was extremely well pleaſed with this intelligence, in conſequence of which he borrowed a ſum of money from his brother Henry, on a mortgage of the Contantin; then aſſured his uncle he would not fail to be in England with all expedition, and in the mean time deſired he would prepare his friends for an open revolt. Brompton.

The conſpirators of England truſting to this aſſurance, began forthwith to put themſelves in motion. Bath, Berkley, and Briſtol, were ſecured by the biſhop of Coutance and his nephew Mowbray. Roger Bigod roſe in Norfolk; Hugh de Grentemeſnil made himſelf maſter of the ſtrong places in Leiceſterſhire. The county of Worceſter was occupied by Roger de Montgomery, William biſhop of Durham, Bernard de Newark, Roger Lacy, and Ralph Mortimer; and, in a word, ſuch ſteps were taken for Robert's intereſt in different parts

of

of England, that in all probability William would have been dethroned, if Robert's indolence had not defeated all their meaſures. That prince, inſtead of employing his money in levies to ſupport his friends in England, ſquandered it away in idle expence and unrequited benefits; and procraſtinated his departure until the opportunity was loſt: while William exerted himſelf with incredible activity to ſtifle the confederacy, before his elder brother could arrive. A. C. 1087. It is rendered ineffectual by Robert's indolence.

Lanfranc adviſed him on this occaſion to conciliate the affection of the Engliſh; and he accordingly amuſed them with magnificent promiſes, to eaſe them of their burthenſome tolls and taxes, and allow them free liberty of hunting. Cajoled by theſe profeſſions, which were void of all ſincerity, the Engliſh in general continued firmly attached to his intereſt, and the Londoners raiſed an army of thirty thouſand men for his ſervice. All the prelates and clergy, influenced by the archbiſhop, adhered to his cauſe; and Lanfranc found means to detach ſome of the moſt powerful conſpirators from the enterprize they had undertaken. So that, in a little time, Rufus was enabled to ſend a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips to ſea, while he marched at the head of his Engliſh army, againſt his uncle Odo, who had fortified himſelf at Pevenſey, in hope of being relieved by the arrival of the duke of Normandy. The king inveſted the place, and carried on his attacks with ſuch fury, that the biſhop, afraid of its being taken by aſſault, began in a few days to capitulate; but could obtain no terms, until he undertook to put William in poſſeſſion of Rocheſter, to which the principal conſpirators had retired, under the command of Euſtace count of Boulogne. The biſhop being conducted to the gate of Rocheſter, in order to perſuade the governor to ſurrender, the count perceived in his coun- And the inſurrection utterly ſuppreſſed.

A. C. 1088. countenance how much his heart was at variance with his tongue, and took him priſoner without ceremony, as a traytor who had betrayed the confederates. William, thus baffled by the craft of the biſhop, undertook the ſiege of that city, which was ſo vigorouſly defended, that he began to deſpair of ſucceſs; when an infectious diſtemper having crept into the place, made ſuch havoc among the garriſon, that the chiefs were fain to ſurrender on condition of being allowed to retire with their horſes only, though without any proſpect of retrieving their forfeited eſtates. Odo found a welcome reception in Normandy, and governed that dutchy as prime miniſter to Robert, who, inſtead of repairing into England with a ſtrong body of Norman forces, according to the original deſign of this conſpiracy, had indulged his natural ſloth at Rouen, and ſent over a ſingle veſſel with a few ſoldiers, who were all taken or drowned. After the reduction of Rocheſter, the king marched towards Durham, to chaſtiſe the biſhop, who had embarked in the plot; and that city being immediately taken, the prelate was baniſhed, together with all thoſe who had taken up arms in the execution of this project.

Hen. Hunt. Rog. de Hov. Ord. vital.

William's tyranny.

The ſuppreſſion of this revolt confirmed the government of William Rufus, who, far from performing his promiſes to the Engliſh, by whoſe valour and fidelity his throne was eſtabliſhed, gave a looſe to his arbitrary nature, which he had hitherto bridled, and loaded them with the moſt grievous impoſitions. Nay, in the very article of hunting, inſtead of abating the rigour of the law, he made a new act, by which a man convicted of killing a deer was puniſhable with death; and introduced the method of lawing or maiming dogs, by which the people were effectually debarred of that diverſion. Archbiſhop Lanfranc ſaw with regret

regret these examples of his tyranny and breach of faith; upon which he took the liberty to remonstrate in the most gentle manner, and in particular to remind him of the promise he had made: but William was incensed at the freedom of his expostulation, and from that instant the prelate's interest declined: though he did not long survive his disgrace; and when he died, was regretted by both nations, as a priest of extraordinary merit. A. C. 1088. G. Malmes.

Such was the credit of Lanfranc, that William, rather than run the risque of incurring his displeasure, had, as we have already observed, put a restraint upon his behaviour; but now being rid of that troublesome censor, he indulged all his vicious appetites, and oppressed the people with intolerable exactions, in which the clergy bore their share of oppression. He ordered a new survey to be taken of all the lands and property of the kingdom; and wherever he found them undervalued in the Doomsday-book, he raised the proportion of taxes accordingly. The inventor and executor of all these grievances was one Ralph Lambard, son of a presbyter of Bayeux, who had raised himself to a place in the great council, as well as to the favour and countenance of the king, by making himself subservient to that prince's tyranny and rapaciousness; but, in proportion as he acquired the protection and friendship of the king, he attracted the odium and resentment of the people; and at length a scheme was formed for his destruction. One Gerold, a bold enterprising man, decoyed him into a boat, on pretence of bringing him to the house of Maurice bishop of London, whose chaplain he had been; and conveyed him on board of a ship, which weighed anchor immediately, and put to sea. Two men were provided to assassinate this unpopular minister; but before they could perpetrate their purpose, the ship had well nigh perished

An attempt made upon the life of his minister Ralph Lambard.

A. C. 1089.

in

A. C. 1089. in a ſtorm; a circumſtance which, in thoſe ſuperſtitious times, was looked upon as an interpoſition of heaven in Ralph's behalf. He did not fail to make the moſt of this occurrence, and being endowed with a great ſhare of eloquence and inſinuation, prevailed upon Gerold to ſet him ſafe on ſhore; he immediately ſent for a guard from the next ſtation of ſoldiers, and, returning in triumph to London, reſumed his place in the king's favour and affection. Ord. vital.

Another conſpiracy againſt William defeated.

The miſcarriage of this conſpiracy againſt the miniſter did not deter the ſubjects ſo much, but that ſeveral prelates and noblemen, incenſed at William's arbitrary proceedings, engaged in another deſign againſt the tyrant: but this project was fruſtrated almoſt as ſoon as hatched, by the miniſter's gaining over ſome of the principal accomplices, and baniſhing others, one of whom was Ivo Taillebois, upon whoſe credit all their hopes of ſucceſs had depended. Ingulph.

The clergy are oppreſſed.

This plot ſeems to have owed its original to the reſentment of the clergy, whom the king fleeced without juſtice or remorſe; inventing a new method of amaſſing money, which had never been practiſed by any of his predeceſſors. He not only ſeized the annates or firſt-fruits of vacant benefices, but kept them in his own hands for a ſeries of years together; and after he had pillaged a dioceſe in this manner, ſold it to the beſt bidder, without the leaſt regard to the morals or capacity of the purchaſer. At the death of Lanfranc, he appropriated the temporalities of the archbiſhopric to his own uſe, for the term of four years; and acted in the ſame manner with reſpect to the ſee of Lincoln, and all others that chanced to be vacated during his reign; without regarding the complaints which were made to the pope by the clergy. Indeed this was a very favourable conjuncture for his exerciſing

theſe

theſe acts of oppreſſion with impunity, becauſe the church was divided by a ſchiſm, and Urban II. too much engroſſed by his project for a cruſade, to intermeddle in ſuch diſputes. A. C. 1089. G. Thorn.

William's avarice was inſatiate and his revenge implacable; not contented with having defrauded Robert of his birth-right, he now reſolved to deprive him of what he poſſeſſed. He was a ſtranger to the ties of natural affection, and hated his brother for the attempt he had made upon the Engliſh throne. Finding his government firmly eſtabliſhed at home, he began to make preparations for invading his father's hereditary dominions, and landed in Normandy before his brother had the leaſt intimation of his deſign; he therefore found him altogether unprovided for his reception, and took St. Valery, Albemarle, and ſome other places, without the leaſt reſiſtance. In this emergency Robert had recourſe to the king of France, who marched in perſon at the head of an army to his aſſiſtance; but he reaped very little advantage from theſe allies. William found means to detach Philip from the duke's intereſt, and that monarch retired, leaving Robert more than ever expoſed to the calamities of war; for he had truſted ſo much to the French ſuccours, that he took no other meaſures for his own defence. William continued to make himſelf maſter of one place after another, and even carried on a ſecret negotiation with Conon, governor of Rouen, who promiſed to put him in poſſeſſion of that city; and the duke was on the brink of deſtruction, when he prevailed upon his younger brother Henry to uſe thoſe arms as his friend, which he had actually taken up as his enemy. That prince was incenſed againſt Robert, becauſe he had ſeized the Contantin, which was mortgaged to him for the money he advanced towards the Engliſh expedition; and even refuſed to pay

William invades the territories of his brother Robert.

A. C. 1089. pay the debt. Henry had assembled some troops to do himself justice; but the duke imploring his assistance, and promising faithfully to discharge the obligation, he espoused his quarrel, entered Rouen unexpectedly, seized Conon, whom he ordered to be thrown headlong from the top of a tower, and took possession of the city for his elder brother.

A. C. 1091. William thus baffled by the union of Robert and Henry, made advances towards an accommodation; and peace was concluded, on condition that Robert should cede to the king the county of Eu, Fescamp, Cherbourg, and all the other places which he had reduced on the coast of Normandy; that William should assist the duke in subduing the province of Maine, which had revolted; restore the confiscated English estates of Norman noblemen; and bestow certain fiefs of that kingdom upon his brother Robert: and lastly, it was agreed that the survivor of the two contracting parties should inherit the territories of the deceased.

Flor. de Wor. Ord. vital. G. Malmes.

How pleased soever the king and the duke might be with the articles of this treaty, Henry was extremely disgusted, inasmuch as no regard was paid to his interest; and Robert did not seem inclined to keep his promise touching the payment of the money he had borrowed. Incensed at these instances of disrespect, he resolved to take satisfaction by force of arms, and accordingly made himself master of Mont Michael by surprise. Robert, unwilling to lose a place of such importance, prevailed upon William to aid him in reducing the castle, which was situated on an inaccessible rock washed by the sea, and twice a day quite surrounded by the tide. While the two brothers lay before this fortress, which they could besiege no other way than by a blockade, William taking the air one day a-horseback, at some distance from the

Henry is besieged in Mont St. Michael by William and Robert.

camp, perceived two horſemen riding out from the caſtle, and obeying the dictates of his impetuoſity, attacked them with great fury; but, his horſe being killed in the firſt encounter, overturned and lay upon him in ſuch a manner, that he could not diſengage himſelf. His antagoniſt, while he remained in this ſituation, had lifted up his hand in order to deprive him of his life, when he exclaimed in a menacing tone, "Hold, villain, I am the king of England!" The two cavaliers were immediately ſeized with veneration and awe, and helping him up, accommodated him with one of their horſes. William ſpringing into the ſaddle; "Follow me (ſaid he to his conqueror) I will reward thy valour; and thou ſhalt henceforth be my knight." Mean while the ſiege advanced very ſlowly, and indeed the place ſeemed to be impregnable; when Henry, being reduced to a great ſcarcity of ſweet-water, deſired his brother Robert would ſend him a ſupply, and conquer him by arms rather than by thirſt. The duke, whoſe generous temper he was well acquainted with, complied immediately with his requeſt, by allowing the garriſon to fetch as much water as they found neceſſary; and at the ſame time he ſent a pipe of wine for his brother's own drinking. Rufus did not at all approve of this generoſity, which he aſcribed to the folly of Robert, who juſtified his conduct by obſerving that the quarrel between them and Henry was not ſuch as ought to deſtroy the ties of natural affection, and that they might yet live to have occaſion for a brother's aſſiſtance. After a very tedious ſiege the caſtle was ſurrendered; and Henry retired to Bretagne, from whence he wandered about for two years, almoſt deſtitute of attendants, and ſometimes in want of ſubſiſtence. At this period too, Edgar Atheling, who had returned from Paleſtine, was ordered to quit Normandy, and A. C. 1091.

A. C. 1091. and forbid to enter England at his peril; so that he withdrew into Scotland, where he always met with a favourable reception.

Malcolm king of Scotland invades Northumberland.

During William's absence from his kingdom, Malcolm the Scottish monarch invading England, ravaged the county of Northumberland; and the people of the North complaining loudly of their being exposed to such calamities, from the king's leaving his dominions, Rufus returned with all expedition, and prevailed upon Robert to accompany him in his campaign against the Scot. The troops being immediately assembled, they advanced against the enemy, who retired as they approached as far as Scot-water, where they received a message from Malcolm, importing that he had nothing to offer to William except a battle; but he was ready to do homage as prince of Cumberland to Robert, as the eldest son of William the Conqueror. This address occasioned a council of war, in which it was judged expedient to offer propositions of peace, as the army was greatly diminished, and dispirited by sickness, fatigue, and scarcity of provision, and the fleet dispersed and mostly destroyed by a tempest. Robert, therefore, repaired with a few of his attendants to the Scottish camp, where he was hospitably entertained; and Malcolm assured him that his army was raised with a view to make a diversion in his favour when he was at variance with William; but now that matters were accommodated between the brothers, he was willing to accede to the treaty on equitable terms. Thus, by the mediation of Robert, peace was concluded between England and Malcolm, who was confirmed in the possession of Cumberland, for which he did homage, and received an annual gratification of twelve marks of gold. Edgar Atheling, who accompanied his brother-in-law, was at the same time reconciled to William, whom he attended to Lon-

London; but neither he nor Robert liking their reception at the court of Rufus, they in a few months croſſed the ſea together into Normandy A. C. 1091. Rog. de Hov. Brompton.

While William was engaged in this Scottiſh expedition, the county of Glamorgan in Wales was conquered by Robert Fitzhamon, gentleman of his bedchamber, who had ſerved Jeſtyn lord of Glamorgan againſt Rees king of Wales, on certain conditions, which he refuſed to fulfil after the war was terminated. Fitzhamon, incenſed at this inſtance of ingratitude and injuſtice, reſolved to right himſelf with his ſword; he accordingly aſſembled his friends and adherents, attacked Jeſtyn, ſlew him in battle, and took poſſeſſion of his country. Diſturbance in Wales. Chron. Wall.

Robert, on his return to his own dominions, found his brother Henry in poſſeſſion of Domfront, and all the Contantin; nor was he in a condition to wreſt this territory from that young prince, who was privately ſupported by William. Rufus, notwithſtanding the ſervices Robert had ſo lately done him in the Scottiſh war, omitted no opportunity of debauching the Norman lords from their allegiance, and engaging them to fortify their caſtles for his ambitious deſigns. While he took theſe meaſures for paving the way to the conqueſt of Normandy, he exerciſed his authority at home in deviſing new taxes upon corporations, by which he filled his coffers, and intailed upon himſelf the hatred and curſes of the people, Normans as well as Engliſh; for he ſpunged them without diſtinction. William's tyranny and rapacious diſpoſition.

They at length flattered themſelves that heaven had heard their prayers, as the king was ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper at Glouceſter. He was himſelf perſuaded that he had not long to live, and diſcovered ſome ſigns of repentance. He even promiſed to amend his life, and correct the errors of his government, ſhould he have the good fortune to recover his health. The biſhops in at- He ſickens and repents.

A. C. 1091. tendance did not neglect this precious opportunity of exhorting him to fill the vacant benefices; and he was so meekened by the apprehension of death, that he immediately complied with their admonitions. Robert Bloet, one of his counsellors, was promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln, and the see of Canterbury was bestowed upon Anselm abbot of Bec in Normandy, who chanced to be at the English court, and could hardly be prevailed upon to accept the dignity under the reign of such an arbitrary prince; but, before he would allow himself to be consecrated, he insisted upon the king's restoring all that he had wrested from the church of Canterbury since the death of Lanfranc; and Rufus promised faithfully to make restitution.

He recovers, and oppresses the subject more and more.

But finding his health returning, he delayed making satisfaction on various pretences; and at last flatly refused to restore the lands which he had alienated to different persons: on the contrary, he desired the archbishop to confirm those grants; but Anselm would never stoop to a condescension which he thought inconsistent with the interest of the church and the dignity of his character; and this mutual refusal was the source of a quarrel that produced abundance of mischief. All the maxims of reformation which William had avowed in his distemper, were absolutely forgot at his recovery; the prisoners whom he had ordered to be released, were now remanded to close prison; he returned to his old courses of profligacy with redoubled relish; his government was the exertion of the most despotic power, manifested in all shapes of extortion and violence. Justice was banished from the tribunals, which were filled with venal and corrupted judges, who pursued no other aim than that of enriching themselves with the spoils of the people. All governors and persons in office seemed to have been appointed for plundering, not pro-

protecting the ſubject; the public money ſtuck to the hands of thoſe who managed it; all honours and rewards were engroſſed by panders, paraſites, and informers; and no man could expect to inſinuate himſelf into the king's favour until he had fallen out with honour, conſcience, and humanity. A great number of people reſolved to abandon their native country thus diſtreſſed by the united powers of tyranny, profligacy, and corruption; but even this wretched comfort was cut off by an edict, prohibiting ſubjects to quit the kingdom without the king's permiſſion. A. C. 1091. Huntingd. Knyghton. Brompton. Brady.

His inſolence and injuſtice towards Malcolm.

William's inſolence and perfidy were felt by all mankind, ſo far as they were concerned with him either as friends or enemies. Malcolm having by his ambaſſadors demanded the performance of the articles in the late treaty, touching the lands of Cumberland to be ceded in his favour, he deſired the Scottiſh king would come in perſon to his court of Glouceſter, where he ſhould have juſtice. Malcolm went thither accordingly, and was received in a very imperious manner by Rufus, who gave him to underſtand, that he muſt ſubmit his cauſe to the determination of the Engliſh peers: a tribunal which the Scot rejected with diſdain, propoſing, in his turn, that the diſpute ſhould be determined by the nobility of both kingdoms aſſembled on the borders, according to antient cuſtom. William would not ſubmit to this equitable propoſal; the treaty was renounced, and Malcolm returned to his own country, glowing with indignation at the indignities he had undergone.

Who beſieges Alnewick, and is ſlain by treachery.

He forthwith aſſembled an army, and invaded Northumberland, which he ravaged as far as Alnewick, the ſiege of which he carried on with great vigour until the garriſon was reduced to extremity; then the governor, whoſe name was Morel, demanded a capitulation, and on pretence of preſent-

A. C. 1093. ing the keys to Malcolm on the point of a ſpear, thruſt the weapon into his eye, and killed him on the ſpot: his ſon Edward was ſlain at the ſame time, and a body of troops prepared for the purpoſe ſallied out upon the Scotch army, which being ſurpriſed at a time when they thought hoſtilities had ceaſed, and overwhelmed with conſternation at the murder of their ſovereign and his ſon, fled with the utmoſt diſorder, and were purſued with great ſlaughter. Malcolm's body was carried in a cart by two peaſants to Tinmouth, where they committed it to the earth, but it was afterwards removed to Dumfermling, and interred in the church which he had founded. His queen Margaret was ſo affected at his death that ſhe ſurvived the news of it but three days; and indeed the fate of Malcolm was very much regretted not only by his own ſubjects, but alſo by the Engliſh, among whom he left ſeveral monuments of his liberality and devotion, particularly the cathedral at Durham, which was erected at his expence. He was certainly a prince of great courage and uncommon virtue, and a generous benefactor to all the Engliſh who retired to his kingdom from the tyranny of the Conqueror.

Hunting. G. Malmeſ. Buchanan. Fordun.

His brother Donald uſurps the throne of Scotland.

Though this prince left ſeveral children of his own, his brother Donald mounted the throne, and expelled all the Engliſh whom the late king had ſo remarkably favoured; among which number was Edgar Atheling, who retired to England with his nephews the ſons of Malcolm. Donald's next care was to aſſemble an army and revenge his brother's death: in the latter end of ſummer he made an irruption into England, and layed waſte the country with fire and ſword. Rufus being informed of theſe ravages, ſent a body of troops againſt him, under the command of Duncan, natural ſon of Malcolm, who then reſided at the Engliſh court, and had been knighted by Robert duke of Normandy. As he

he advanced, Donald withdrew into Scotland; but was ſo cloſely purſued, that he was obliged to hazard a battle, though greatly inferior in number to the Engliſh, by whom he was routed, and compelled to fly to the weſtern iſles for ſhelter. Duncan, by means of this victory, aſcended the throne with the conſent of the people; but, as he retained an Engliſh guard about his perſon, the Scots were ſo incenſed at this mark of his partiality to foreigners, that they ſurpriſed and put them all to the ſword. Duncan, who thought this conſpiracy was aimed at his own perſon, fled with great precipitation; but was recalled by his ſubjects, and replaced upon the throne, on condition that he ſhould not for the future bring any ſtrangers into Scotland: he was afterwards murdered by Malpeit earl of Merns, at the inſtigation of Donald, who reſumed the reins of government. A.C. 1093. Fordun.

William Rufus being freed from a very powerful and dangerous enemy in the perſon of Malcolm, found himſelf at leiſure to invade the territories of his own brother Robert, who, tired of the frivolous excuſes he made for delaying the execution of the treaty, at length ſent over ambaſſadors to inſiſt upon the immediate performance of the articles, or in caſe of his refuſal to fulfil them without loſs of time, to denounce a war againſt him as a perjured prince. William, inſtead of complying with this peremptory demand, rejected it with diſdain, and invaded Normandy with a powerful armament: however, that he might have ſome colour for the hoſtilities he intended to commit, he propoſed an interview with Robert, to whom he made ſome propoſals that the other did not think equitable. A ſecond conference was opened in preſence of all the barons, who had witneſſed and ſworn to guaranty the treaty; but this proved as fruitleſs as the former, becauſe William went over, not with a de- William Rufus invades Normandy.

A. C. 1093. sign to effect an accommodation, but to make a conqueſt of the dukedom. Hoſtilities immediately commenced, and ſeveral towns were reduced by Rufus, who began to congratulate himſelf on the near proſpect of adding Normandy to his other dominions, when the king of France, unwilling to have ſuch a troubleſome neighbour, marched with an army to the aſſiſtance of Robert, and the ſcene
A. C. 1094. was immediately changed. They ſoon retook all the towns and caſtles which Rufus had ſubdued and garriſoned; and that prince was ſo much alarmed at their progreſs, that he immediately wrote to England for a reinforcement of twenty thouſand men.

Detaches the French king from his brother's intereſt by dint of money.

Being however well acquainted with Philip's diſpoſition, he reſolved to aſſail him with other arms, which he could not withſtand. The new levies being aſſembled at their rendezvous on the ſea-ſide, Ralph Lambard, by the king's direction, diſencumbered every ſoldier of ten ſhillings which he had received in lieu of proviſion, and then diſbanded the whole body. This ſum was immediately remitted to Rufus, at a time when Philip and Robert had advanced as far as Longueville, in their way to Eu, where they intended to beſiege him; but by a proper application of the money, the French army was inſtantaneouſly diſſolved; and no tranſaction of conſequence diſtinguiſhed this war, from the proſecution of which William was diverted by an inſurrection in Wales, and the advice of a conſpiracy formed againſt him in England.

Flor. Wig. Hoveden. Brompton. Hunting.

Inſurrection of the Welſh againſt the Norman garriſons.

We have already ſeen how Robert Fitzhamon, earl of Glouceſter, had taken poſſeſſion of Glamorganſhire, after having ſlain the ungrateful Teſtyn. At the ſame time Roger earl of Shrewſbury reduced Montgomery; and his ſon Arnulph, having obtained a grant of Pembrokeſhire from the king, took poſſeſſion, and built the caſtles of Pembroke,

broke, Cardigan, and other fortreſſes, to ſecure his acquiſition. The Welſh, however, exaſperated at theſe encroachments, fell upon them in all quarters, and expelled the Normans from all theſe ſettlements but Pembroke caſtle, which they could not reduce: they took Montgomery by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword; then over-running the counties of Cheſter, Salop, and Hereford, they ravaged and burned the whole country, maſſacring the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex. A. C. 1094. Powel. Chr. Hemingford.

Theſe devaſtations brought over William from Normandy, who marching directly againſt the invaders, entered their country, and repaired the caſtle of Montgomery; but the Welſh, inſtead of hazarding a battle, retired to their woods and mountains, from whence they ſurpriſed his parties occaſionally, and put them to the ſword; ſo that he was obliged to return with diſgrace. He afterwards repeated the attempt with the ſame ill ſucceſs; and perceiving that he ſhould never be able to ſubdue them by the operations of a regular campaign, he ordered the wardens of the marches to encroach upon them by degrees, and maintain their intruſions with ſtrong caſtles. Indeed his ſecond expedition was relinquiſhed on account of receiving intelligence of the revolt of Robert Mowbray, who, being elated with the victory over the Scots at Alnewick, obtained by his forces, thought the king could never ſufficiently recompence him for this important ſervice. William, whoſe ſoul was a ſtranger to gratitude or liberality, paid very little regard to his merit; and Mowbray reſolved to take vengeance upon him for his neglect, by removing him from the throne, and ſetting the crown upon Stephen, count of Albemarle, the Conqueror's nephew. In this deſign he had found means to engage a great number of malcontent noblemen; and their meaſures were kept ſo ſecret, that the king Robert Mowbray revolts.

A. C. 1094. did not receive intimation of the plot, until he had entered Wales.

Is beſieged, taken, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment.

He forthwith changed the object of his enterprize, and directed his march againſt Mowbray, who had fortified the caſtle of Bamburg. In his rout he muſt have fallen into an ambuſcade prepared by the revolters, had not Richard de Tunbridge, who was concerned in the ſcheme, repented of his treaſon, and warned William of the danger. When he arrived at Bamburg, he found it impregnable, from the nature of its ſituation; and turning the ſiege into a blockade, erected a fortreſs called Meauvoiſin, or Bad neighbour, ſo near it as to prevent ſupplies of proviſions from being carried to the beſieged; and having furniſhed this new fort with a ſtrong garriſon, retired with the reſt of his army. In the courſe of this blockade, Robert formed a ſcheme for ſurpriſing Newcaſtle; but his motions were ſo narrowly watched by the troops in Meauvoiſin, that inſtead of carrying his point, he was forced to fly to the monaſtery of St. Oſwin, at Tinmouth, in which he and all his officers were taken, after a deſperate reſiſtance. Morel, his kinſman and confidant, ſtill defended Bamburg, until Robert being brought before the gate with a meſſage to the governor and Mowbray's counteſs, who was in the place, importing that his eyes ſhould be put out, if they would not immediately ſurrender; they forthwith complied, and Robert was condemned to perpetual impriſonment. Morel ſaved his life by making a full diſcovery of the conſpiracy, in conſequence of which a great number of unhappy people were puniſhed with great ſeverity. Hugh, earl of Shrewſbury, purchaſed his pardon with the ſum of three thouſand pounds. Roger de Lacy making his eſcape into France, his lands were confiſcated and beſtowed upon his brother Eu, who had continued faithful to the king; and Odo, count

count of Champagne, was impriſoned and deprived of his eſtate. The count de Eu being accuſed as an accomplice in this plot, by Geoffry Barnard, and the proof deficient, the count offered to prove his innocence in ſingle combat; a manner of deciſion imported into England by the Franks and Longobards, ſince the Conqueſt. The liſts were accordingly encloſed, the day and judges appointed: the duel was fought at Saliſbury, and the count being vanquiſhed, it was decreed that he ſhould loſe his eyes, and be deprived of his virility. His kinſman William de Alderi being convicted at the ſame time, was ſentenced to be hanged; and declared at the place of execution, that as he hoped for mercy at the hands of God, he was intirely innocent of the crime laid to his charge; and he was credited by the majority of the nation. A. C. 1095. G. Malmeſ.

William had no ſooner deſtroyed the roots of this conſpiracy, than he found himſelf involved in a diſagreeable quarrel with Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was too ſcrupulouſly attached to the immunities and dignity of the church; and was indeed a prelate of a very haughty diſpoſition. He acknowledged Urban II. as lawful pope, though he knew that the king inclined towards Clement; and a law had been enacted during the preceding reign, to prohibit all perſons from acknowledging any pope without the king's conſent. Anſelm pretended that the king had no right to intermeddle in church-affairs: but William, far from ſubſcribing to this doctrine, began to treat him ſo roughly, that he deſired permiſſion to retire to Rome: this requeſt was at firſt denied, but afterwards granted; though Rufus, in order to mortify the prelate, ſent an officer to ſearch his baggage, after he was on board, and ſeized all his money, on pretence of the law which forbad the exportation of ſilver. Immediately after Anſelm's departure, he appropriated to his own uſe the temporalities of the ſee, which

Ord. Vital. William's diſputes with Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

A. C. 1095. which he enjoyed all the remaining part of his life; while the exaſperated prelate employed all his intereſt with the pope to embroil William with his ſubjects; but finding Urban unwilling to engage in his quarrel, he retired to a monaſtery, where he remained till the death of Ruſus.

Sim. Dun. Hunting. Hoved.

Robert, duke of Normandy, ſets out for Paleſtine.

Urban's attention was too much engroſſed by the execution of the cruſade, to intereſt himſelf in ſuch unimportant diſputes. His ſcheme was to reſcue the Holy Land from the dominion of the Saracens; a romantic ſcheme, with which he was infected by a fanatic friar, known by the name of Peter the Hermit. The pope had preached in the council of Clermont, exhorting the nations to engage in this holy enterprize. An infinite number of princes and noblemen had aſſumed the red-croſs, which was ſewed on the ſhoulder as a badge of their undertaking; and among the reſt Robert duke of Normandy, who glowed with emulation to diſtinguiſh himſelf in an expedition on which the eyes of all Europe were turned. As he wanted money to defray the neceſſary expence, he had recourſe to his brother William, of whom he propoſed to borrow ten thouſand marks of gold, on a mortgage of his dukedom. Ruſus lent a willing ear to his propoſal; but his kingdom being already too much exhauſted by unconſcionable exactions, he bethought himſelf of another expedient, which ſucceeded to his wiſh. He applied for a loan to the richeſt of his ſubjects, ſecular as well as eccleſiaſtic; and his requeſt having all the air of a commandment, they generally complied, though not without murmuring. A few people, who pleaded poverty, were compelled to find what was demanded of them; and many eccleſiaſtics, on pretence of indigence, melted down the plate of their churches and monaſteries, in order to ſupply his occaſions.

Hoved. Having in this manner amaſſed the neceſſary ſum, he

he made a voyage to Normandy, of which he took poſſeſſion for the term of five years, according to the agreement with his brother, who, being thus ſupplied, ſet out on the cruſade to Aſia Minor, and was preſent at the reduction of Nice, Antioch, and Jeruſalem; on which occaſions he ſignalized his valour, conduct, and military ſkill, above all the princes that embarked in the expedition. A. C. 1095.

William's fruitleſs expedition to Wales.

Immediately after the duke's departure, William, as mortgagee of Normandy, demanded of the king of France the French part of the Vexin, which, he pretended, was an appurtenance of the dutchy; and Philip's refuſal was attended with a war, which produced no remarkable tranſaction, and was in a little time terminated by a treaty. Rufus, on his return to England, made another attempt upon Wales, in full reſolution to exterminate all the males of that nation; but he was again foiled, and obliged to deſiſt from his deſign.

A. C. 1096.

The next expedition he undertook was of a more laudable nature: at leaſt, if he did not perſonally engage in the undertaking, he permitted Edgar Atheling to raiſe a body of forces to effect the reſtoration of his nephew to the throne of Scotland, which was uſurped by Donald Bane, the brother of Malcolm, conſequently uncle to young Edgar, the true heir, who, after having with his Engliſh army defeated the uſurper, took poſſeſſion of the crown with the unanimous conſent of the Scottiſh nation.

The earls of Cheſter and Shrewſbury ravage Wales.

William was obliged to reviſit Normandy, and beſiege the capital of Le Maine, which had revolted; and, in his abſence, the Welch were expoſed to terrible calamity by the treachery of one of their noblemen. Owen, father-in-law to Griffith and Cadogan, kings of Wales, being diſguſted with theſe princes, had invited the earls of Cheſter and Shrewſbury into the country, which they ravaged with

A. C. 1097. with incredible barbarity, while the two kings, being unprepared for such a sudden attack, were obliged to retire into Ireland; and their departure leaving their dominions quite defenceless, the English penetrated into the isle of Anglesey, which they destroyed with fire and sword. In the midst of these excesses, Magnus, king of Norway, having made himself master of the isle of Man, resolved to make a descent upon Anglesey; and the English forces attempting to hinder him from landing, an engagement ensued, in which the earl of Shrewsbury being slain, his troops gave way, and the Norwegians took possession of the beach; but finding there was no booty left, they reimbarked and departed.

Pol. Virgil. Brompton.

Mean while the nation was afflicted with a dearth, which was the more severely felt, as William chose that very juncture to impose exorbitant taxes upon the people, for defraying the expence of public works, which might have been postponed to a more favourable season.

William builds Westminster-hall.

He gave orders for rebuilding London-Bridge, which had been demolished by torrents; for surrounding the Tower with a strong wall and rampart; and for erecting the structure of Westminster-hall, which, tho' one of the largest in Europe, he, on his return from Normandy, affected to despise as a petty bed-chamber. During his residence on the continent, he had endeavoured ineffectually to recover Le Maine by force of arms from Helie de la Fleche, who had seized that province, on pretence of some agreement with Robert before he set out for Palestine. The Manceaux declared for La Fleche, and guarded their passes in such a manner, that William could not enter their country; so that a kind of pyratical war was maintained, until William's general, Robert Belesme, had the good fortune to take Helie in an ambuscade. The king having secured this enter-

enterprising officer at Rouen, raised a great army of Bretons, Flemings, Burgundians, Normans, and English, in hope of reducing the province, without farther opposition: but, he met with a formidable antagonist in the person of Fulk Rechen, count of Anjou, of whom Helie held the county in vassalage, and was obliged to have recourse to an expedient, which he had practised with success on other occasions. In a word, he purchased a treaty of peace, by which he was restored to the possession of Le Maine, in consideration of setting Helie at liberty, with all the prisoners he had taken. The town of Mans was immediately surrendered to William, and the nobility of Le Maine took the oath of allegiance: Helie offered his service to the king, who was at first inclinable to engage such an active warrior in his interest, but he was dissuaded by Robert, count of Meulan, his chief counsellor, who perhaps was jealous of Helie's talents; and this last seeing his offer rejected, told William that since he had no occasion for his service, he could not blame him for attempting to recover the possessions he had lost. The king replied, that he might act as he should think proper, and granted him a safe-conduct to La Fleche, which he fortified without delay. Not that he committed any act of hostility while Rufus tarried in Normandy; but when he returned to England, Helie seized the very first opportunity to renew the war. A. C. 1097.

Having first secured the favour of the Manceaux, he appeared with some troops before Le Mans, and provoked the Norman garrison to make a salley, in which they were routed; then entering the city pell-mell with the fugitives, he was received with loud acclamations by the inhabitants; though the castle still held out. A courier dispatched by Robert de Belesme with an account of this surprisal, found William hunting in the New Forest; and he no sooner received the intelligence, Mans surprised. A. C. 1099.

A. C. 1099. than calling aloud to his attendants, "You that love me, follow me;" rode directly to the sea-side, near Dartmouth, where he found a vessel ready to sail. But, the weather being very stormy, the ship-master scrupled to weigh anchor, until he was compelled to put to sea by Rufus, who encouraged him, by observing that he had never heard of a king's being drowned. Next morning he arrived at Barfleur, whence he posted to Bonneville, where he assembled his troops, and marched to the relief of his garrison in Le Mans, with such expedition, that Helie was obliged to raise the siege, and retire to Chauteau de Loir. William invested Majol, in hope of taking the place by assault, in which he received such a blow from a stone, as had well nigh deprived him of his life. In consequence of this accident he desisted from the enterprize, and having ravaged the country, returned to England.

Ord. Vital. Chron. Sax.

Jerusalem taken by the crusards.

About this period, the crusards took the city of Jerusalem, where they committed horrid barbarities; and, intending to erect it into a kingdom, offered the crown to Robert duke of Normandy, who declining that dignity, they elected Godfrey count of Bouillon, whose valour and conduct had greatly contributed to the success of the enterprize. William duke of Guienne, animated by the example of so many princes, and the glory which they had already acquired, resolved to take the cross, and conduct a strong reinforcement to the christians in the Holy Land; but, as this scheme could not be executed without a considerable expence, which his revenues could not defray, he had recourse to the king of England, who agreed to advance a sum of money, on the same terms which had been embraced by his brother Robert. He had actually raised the greatest part of this supply, with which he intended to cross the sea, and in person take possession of the borrower's dominions, when his voyage was prevented by an accident that was not much regretted by his subjects.

Just

Juſt as he mounted his horſe, in order to take the diverſion of hunting in the New Foreſt, he is ſaid to have been warned by a monk from going abroad that day, inaſmuch as he (the monk) had dreamed a ſtrange dream that ſeemed to preſage his majeſty's death. Rufus, ſmiling at his ſuperſtition, ordered him to be paid for his zeal, and deſired him to dream more favourably for the future. He was attended by Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, famous for his archery, who always accompanied him in thoſe excurſions, and to whom he that afternoon gave two arrows out of his own hand. Towards ſun-ſet they found themſelves ſeparated from the reſt of the retinue, and the king alighted to wait for their taking poſt at their different ſtations; when a ſtag paſſing, he ſhot and wounded the animal, yet not ſo mortally but that he fled, and William followed, in hope of ſeeing him fall. As the ſun beamed in his face, he held up his hand before his eyes, and ſtood in that poſture looking at the wounded deer, when another ſtarting from a thicket, Tyrrel let fly an arrow, which either glanced from a tree or the horns of the ſtag, and ſtruck the king into the heart. He dropped dead inſtantaneouſly, and the innocent author of his death, terrified at the accident, galloped away to the ſea-ſide, where he found a veſſel, in which he was conveyed to the continent. William's body, being found by ſome countrymen paſſing thro' the foreſt, was laid a-croſs a horſe and carried to Wincheſter, where it was next day interred in the cathedral under the tower, without ceremony or the leaſt marks of reſpect; for few lamented his fate, and none of the courtiers attended his funeral.

A. C. 1099. William is killed by accident in the New Foreſt.

A. C. 1100.

Malmeſ. Brompton. Coutin. Ingulph.

Thus fell William, ſurnamed Rufus, from his red hair and florid complexion, after he had lived four and forty years, and reigned near thirteen, during which he oppreſſed his people in every form

A. C. 1100. of tyranny and inſult. He was equally void of learning, principle, and humanity; haughty, paſſionate, brutal, profligate, and ungrateful; a ſcoffer at religion; a ſcourge to the clergy; vain-glorious, talkative, rapacious, laviſh, and diſſolute, and an inveterate enemy to the Engliſh, though he owed his crown to their valour and fidelity, when the Norman lords intended to expel him from the throne. In return for this inſtance of their loyalty he took all opportunities to fleece and enſlave them; and at one time impriſoned fifty of the beſt families of the kingdom, on pretence of killing his deer: ſo that they were compelled to purchaſe their liberty at the expence of all their wealth; though Eadmer. not before they had undergone the fire ordeal. He lived in a ſcandalous commerce with proſtitutes, profeſſing his contempt for marriage; and having no legitimate iſſue, the crown devolved to his brother Henry, who was ſo intent upon the ſucceſſion, that he paid very little regard to the funeral of the deceaſed king †.

† At the time of his death, he was in poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, the ſees of Wincheſter and Saliſbury, twelve rich abbies, and a great number of other ſmaller benefices, which he had kept vacant for his own uſe: it cannot therefore be expected that the monks ſhould have writ his eulogium. They tell us that he ſet God and man at defiance; that one day, ſeeing ſome perſons paſs the ordeal unhurt, he affirmed that God was unjuſt in protecting ſuch people, whom he himſelf knew to be guilty. He is ſaid to have denied Providence; to have received money from the Jews of Rouen, to compel thoſe among them who had been baptized to reſume their old religion; to have aſſembled the biſhops and rabbies, in order to diſpute in his preſence, after having promiſed to the Jews, that if they could convince him with their arguments, he would forthwith undergo the operation of circumciſion; that after having retained vacant benefices for ſeveral years, he ſet them up for ſale to the higheſt bidder; and upon an occaſion of this kind, when two prieſts were bidding againſt each other, he perceived a third who ſtood ſilent, and aſking what he would give for the living in queſtion, the monk replied, that he had nothing to give; or if he had, his conſcience would not allow him to be guilty of ſuch a flagrant inſtance of ſimony. The king, pleaſed with the reply, ſwore by St. Luke's face that he was the moſt honeſt of the three, and ſhould have it for nothing. Eadmer, Malmeſb, Hunting.

HENRY

HENRY I.

HENRY I.

Surnamed BEAUCLERC.

HAD Robert been in Normandy when William died, he would in all probability have mounted the Engliſh throne without oppoſition, according to the treaty concluded between the two brothers, and ratified by the principal noblemen of both countries; but, inſtead of returning home immediately after the reduction of Jeruſalem, he lingered by the way in Apulia, where he married Sybilla, daughter of William count of Converſana, a lady renowned for her beauty and qualifications; and while he indulged himſelf in the enjoyment of his amiable bride, whoſe fortune he laviſhed away among his followers, he loſt the opportunity which never afterwards occurred. The Engliſh nation was divided between affection and intereſt: they loved Robert for his good nature and generoſity, but they dreaded his indolence and profuſion; and juſtly concluded, from the fame of his expenſive living in this laſt cruſade, that on his return he would be abſolutely deſtitute of all means to make good his pretenſions. On the other hand, Henry was a native of England, born after his father's acceſſion to the throne; a circumſtance which had weight with ſome people: but the great advantage which this prince had over his brother was being on the ſpot, to take the firſt and moſt neceſſary meaſures for the ſupport of his pretenſions. He was employed in the ſame diverſion, and in the ſame foreſt which proved fatal to William, when he heard of that prince's death, and rode full ſpeed to

A. C. 1100. Henry ſeizes the treaſures of the late king, is elected, and crowned.

A. C. 1100. Wincheſter, where he demanded the keys of the royal treaſury, which were in the hands of William de Breteuil, eldeſt ſon of William Fitzosborne, formerly earl of Hereford. That nobleman had juſt arrived from the New Foreſt, where he too had been hunting; and, informed of the king's cataſtrophe, haſtened home to take care of his charge, which he flatly refuſed to reſign, telling Henry the ſceptre of England belonged to his brother Robert, for whom he would reſerve the treaſure and his allegiance, according to the oath he had taken. The diſpute was on the point of producing bloodſhed, when Robert count de Meulant, and a great number of the late king's attendants coming up, eſpouſed the cauſe of Henry, and compelled Breteuil to ſurrender the treaſure, with part of which they in all probability hoped to be rewarded for their ſervice. He was immediately proclaimed king, after a very tumultuary election, influenced by the populace, which denounced vengeance upon all thoſe who ſhould dare to diſpute his ſucceſſion; and he forthwith began to exerciſe the regal authority, in preferring William Giffard to the ſee of Wincheſter. Then he and his partiſans ſet out for London, where he was anointed and crowned in Weſtminſter abbey, by Maurice biſhop of London, after he had taken the coronation oath; and this ceremony was finiſhed in ſixty-ſix hours after the death of the late king: ſo much was Henry afraid that Robert might arrive unexpectedly; and anticipate his deſign.

Henry grants a charter of privileges.

As the people had too much reaſon, during the two laſt reigns, to think that a king is very apt to forget or diſregard his coronation oath, Henry, for the farther ſatisfaction of his ſubjects, granted that ſame day a charter, confirming their privileges, and redreſſing ſome grievances under which they laboured. By this deed, which was authenticated in the moſt ſolemn manner, and tranſcribed into a

great number of copies diſperſed all over the kingdom, he eſtabliſhed the churches in poſſeſſion of all their immunities, and exempted them from all the hardſhips they had ſuſtained from the tyranny of Rufus, eſpecially that of being kept vacant for the king's uſe, and afterwards put up to public ſale, without any regard to merit or capacity. He aboliſhed the exceſſive fines which uſed to be exacted from the heirs of noblemen for the livery of their lands; and at the ſame time exempted the vaſſals of noblemen from the ſame impoſition; he permitted all the vaſſals of the crown to diſpoſe of their children in marriage, according to their own pleaſure, except to the king's enemies; widows were inveſted with the ſame privilege, without being obliged to pay for licences from the crown; he granted the wardſhip of minors to the mother or neareſt relation; he ſuppreſſed the duty of moneyage, paid once in three years, in conſideration of the king's preſerving the value of the coin unaltered; he remitted all fines, mulcts, and debts in the exchequer, ariſing from vexatious proſecution; allowed the barons to bequeath their perſonal eſtates by will; and regulated the diviſion of effects belonging to thoſe who died inteſtate, among their wives, children, and neareſt relations: he mitigated the ſecurity given by perſons charged with felony or miſdemeanour; pardoned all murders and other offences committed before his coronation; exempted the lands poſſeſſed by the military tenants of the crown from gelds, talliages, and benevolences; he reſtored the laws of St. Edward, and forgave all rapine and depredation, provided the offenders would make immediate reſtitution. A. C. 1100. Mat. Paris.

In purſuance of the ſame laudable ſcheme of reformation and redreſs, he expelled from court all the miniſters and inſtruments of his brother's debauchery and arbitrary power, and publiſhed a ſevere edict againſt delinquents and adulterers, denouncing Henry reforms the abuſes of the court,

A. C. 1100. nouncing rigorous penalties for such transgressions, and death itself to be inflicted upon such as should be found guilty of peculation. He abolished the odious curfew, made an example of his brother's wicked minister Ralph Lambard, who being by this time raised to the see of Durham, was stripped of his dignity and revenue, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, where, however, he was plentifully maintained on an allowance of two shillings a day, the common appointment of state prisoners.

Ord. Vital.

and grants a particular charter to the city of London.

As Henry had been greatly obliged to the citizens of London, in his acquisition of the throne, he gratified them with a charter of very ample privileges; and, in order to crown the satisfaction of the people, he recalled Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, who was become extremely popular in England, through the influence of the monks, by this time settled in almost all the benefices of the kingdom. That prelate accepted the invitation with transport, especially as the king hinted that he should have the chief direction of affairs, and landed at Dover, to the inexpressible joy of the whole nation; but Henry was a little confounded when he refused to do him homage, adhering to the canons of the council of Bari, which forbad ecclesiastics to receive investitures from the laity, or to pay them homage on any account. The conditions therefore of their living together in a good understanding were, that the king should relinquish the prerogative of investing bishops and abbots, and in every thing relating to the church, pay implicit obedience to the pope. Henry, though shocked at the insolent proposals of this arrogant priest, who wanted to curtail his authority, was forced to temporize, because not yet firmly established on the throne; for he knew that Anselm, by throwing his interest into the scale of Robert, might keep the balance in suspence, and perhaps make the other end pre-

Eadmer.

pon-

ponderate. He therefore propoſed that agents ſhould be diſpatched to Rome, with a remonſtrance to the pope, deſiring his holineſs to diſpenſe with the canons about inveſtitures, as ſuch laws were diametrically oppoſite to the cuſtoms of the nation: and that in the mean time Anſelm ſhould enter into poſſeſſion of his ſee. This expedient was approved, and a kind of truce concluded, until the deputies could obtain an anſwer from the Roman pontiff. A. C. 1100.

Henry's intereſt was concerned in another view to maintain the favour of the archbiſhop. He had acquired the reputation of a debauchee from the proſecution of promiſcuous amours; and he reſolved by one ſtep to retrieve his character, and ſtrengthen his title to the throne. Maude, daughter of Malcolm III. by Margaret, ſiſter to Edgar Atheling, had been brought from Scotland by her uncle, and educated in a nunnery at Wincheſter, under the eye of her aunt Chriſtian. This princeſs did the king propoſe to marry; but as ſhe had wore the veil, though not a profeſſed nun, it was neceſſary to uſe the credit of the archbiſhop, who aſſembling a council at Lambeth, took cognizance of the affair in a judicial manner, and declared Maude free from any eccleſiaſtical reſtrictions; ſo that the marriage was celebrated without further heſitation; and both kingdoms were extremely well pleaſed with the event. He marries Maude, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland. Eadmer.

During theſe tranſactions, Robert duke of Normandy arrived in his dominions, and reſumed the reins of government without oppoſition; for, although they had been mortgaged to the late king William, Henry did not chooſe at this conjuncture to claim that part of the ſucceſſion. But Robert, far from thinking himſelf obliged by this forbearance, made no ſecret of his reſentment againſt his brother, who had ſupplanted him in his abſence; and loudly declared he would take the firſt oppor- Robert aſſerts his claim to the Engliſh crown. A. C. 1101.

A.C. 1101. tunity of doing himself justice. He was confirmed in this resolution by the bishop of Durham, who had escaped from the Tower; and several Norman noblemen undertook to support his pretensions; he even found means to raise a considerable party among the English, and began to make preparations for invading England. Henry could plainly perceive that his subjects fluctuated in their inclinations between him and his brother; and that they made a wide distinction between Robert in Palestine, and Robert in Normandy. In this emergency he had recourse to Anselm, who employed all his credit in fixing him upon the throne; he convened the principal noblemen, Normans as well as English, and expatiated with such eloquence and energy upon the calamities of a civil war, and the sincerity of Henry's intention to make his people happy, that they seemed intirely satisfied, and determined to be quiet. Nevertheless it was no sooner known that Robert was ready to embark, than the majority of the lords declared for him, and part of the fleet followed their example.

Lands at Portsmouth. This defection facilitated his descent at Portsmouth, where he was joined by a great number of his brother's subjects, who promised to risque their lives and fortunes in his service; and assured him that Henry in a little time would be abandoned by the whole nation. Mean while the king exerted himself in assembling his troops; and the archbishop employed his eloquence and emissaries so effectually in representing the impiety of violating oaths, especially that of allegiance to a king, who had made such concessions to his people, that the whole army became staunch to their cause, and a number of noblemen and officers who wavered, were by these harrangues confirmed in their fidelity to Henry. The king's forces thus assured, advanced from Pevensey towards Portsmouth, and the competitors were

were soon in sight of each other; though both equally unwilling to hazard a battle, because Robert found himself disappointed in his expectation of being joined by the English, and Henry did not know how far he could confide in his soldiers, though he foresaw that his own perdition must be the consequence of his defeat. Anselm took this opportunity of offering his mediation, which was inforced by all the noblemen and prelates in both armies; and after some debate a treaty of peace was concluded, on condition that Robert should quit his claim to England, in consideration of Henry's paying him annually the sum of three thousand marks, and giving up the Contantin, with all that he possessed in Normandy, except Danfront, which he could not cede without breaking the oath he had taken to the inhabitants when they received him into the place; that the adherents of each party should be restored to the lands and honours they formerly possessed, whether in England or in Normandy; and that if either prince should die without issue, the survivor should succeed to his dominions. This treaty being signed and ratified, the armies on each side were disbanded; and Robert, having lived two months in the utmost harmony with his brother, returned in peace to his own dominions.

A. C. 1101.

The dispute is compromised.

Chron. Sax. Ord. Vital. Flor. Wig.

Henry, having established himself on the throne by virtue of this accommodation, could not without resentment remember those by whom his crown had been brought into such jeopardy; and though he had executed the articles of the treaty even so as to permit the restoration of Lambard to the see of Durham, yet he resolved to punish every person of importance who had joined his brother; and that punishment took place as soon as he could find other pretexts for exercising his revenge. Robert de Belesme, earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury, was the chief aim of his indignation; him therefore he

Henry impeaches Robert de Belesme, earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury.

A. C. 1101. beſet with ſpies, who took ſuch advantages of his unguarded expreſſions and impetuoſity of temper, that they ſoon found matter for an accuſation, conſiſting of five and forty articles, which was delivered into his hand one day while he attended at court. He deſired he might be indulged with time to prepare an anſwer; but, inſtead of employing it for that purpoſe, he fortified his caſtles, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence.

He is ſtripped of his whole Engliſh eſtate and dignity.

The king immediately ordered him to be proclaimed a traitor, and marched at the head of an army to beſiege his caſtle of Arundel, the commander of which deſired leave to ſend for orders to his lord, that he might know whether he ſhould defend or deliver the fortreſs. The king indulged him ſo far, and left a ſufficient number of troops to block up the caſtle, ordering the biſhop of Lincoln to beſiege Tikehill, while he himſelf advanced into Shropſhire, the greateſt part of which belonged to Robert de Beleſme. Here he attacked Bridgenorth, counted the ſtrongeſt place in England, and well ſupplied with men, ammuni-

A. C. 1102. tion, and proviſion. The garriſon conſiſted of a body of Welſh, under the command of Roger Fitzcorbet, Robert Nevil, and Ulger Groſvenor, who made ſuch a vigorous defence, that Henry began to deem it impregnable; but the ſucceſs which he could not obtain by his arms, he owed to the intereſt of William Pantolf, governor of Stafford caſtle, who being related to the commanders in Bridgenorth, prevailed upon them to ſurrender the

Ord. Vital. caſtle. While Henry was employed in this ſiege, the principal nobility of England offered their mediation in favour of Robert; but the king would liſten to no terms of accommodation. Having reduced Bridgenorth, he directed his march towards Shrewſbury, and while he approached the place, the earl ſeeing his affairs deſperate, acknowledged his

his crime, and ſurrendered at diſcretion, ſubmitting himſelf to the mercy of the king, who upon his delivering up Arundel and the reſt of his caſtles, granted him his life and a ſafe-conduct to Normandy; but he confiſcated his vaſt eſtate, and his brothers were involved in his diſgrace. A. C. 1102.

Roger earl of Lancaſhire, Arnulph de Montgomery, lord of Pembrokeſhire, Robert de Pontefract, and Robert de Mallet, were likewiſe diveſted of their eſtates, and baniſhed the kingdom. Hugh de Grentemeſnil thought to ſave his fortune by mortgaging it for fifteen years to the king's favourite, Robert count de Meulant, while he himſelf went on a pilgrimage to the Holy land; but Meulant refuſed to reſtore it in the ſequel: ſo that it was for ever loſt to Hugh's poſterity. By theſe arbitrary meaſures Henry quelled the exorbitant power of the noblemen, among whom the lands of England had been diſtributed by the Conqueror with ſuch profuſion, that two or three of them united were almoſt an overmatch for the whole power of the crown; whereas, by parcelling out their forfeited eſtates among a great number of his needy adherents, Henry rewarded their attachment, while he enabled them to ſerve him more effectually, and ſubſtituted grateful vaſſals in the room of dangerous rivals. Divers other noblemen deprived in the ſame manner. Dugdale's Baronage. Ord. Vital.

All the nobles in the land were more eaſily managed than the archbiſhop of Canterbury alone; that prelate, who was a true monk and bigot to the power of Rome, had conceived two projects, which could not be executed without great difficulty; the firſt was to eſtabliſh celibacy among eccleſiaſtics, and the ſecond to hinder biſhops and abbots from receiving the inveſtiture of their benefices from the king. The agents ſent to Rome returned about the time of the treaty between the two brothers, and brought an anſwer from the pope, Anſelm denies the king's right of inveſting biſhops.

A. C. 1102. pope, insisting upon the execution of the canons against lay-investiture. Nevertheless, the king refused to part with his prerogative; and Anselm refused to consecrate the bishops whom Henry had appointed. This dispute produced a quarrel, which would have been attended with the immediate privation of the archbishop, had not his services been so recent and his popularity so great, that it was dangerous to treat him as an outlaw. All hope of accommodation, however, being destroyed by the obstinacy of the parties, Anselm resolved to carry his complaints in person to pope Paschal II. by whose direction he had in all probability engaged in this enterprize. He was accompanied by the prelates who had quitted their benefices rather than acknowledge the king's supremacy; and Henry at the same time sent ambassadors to defend his cause before the
A. C. 1103. pope: these were Hebert and Robert, bishops of Norwich and Litchfield, together with William de Warelwast, an ecclesiastic of profound learning. Notwithstanding the capacity and eloquence of these advocates, the pope refused to abate a tittle of his pretensions, and even threatened to excommunicate Henry, whom he found as tenacious of his prerogative; when a temperament was proposed and admitted; and both parties agreed, that the bishops and abbots should do homage to the king, and that he should recede from the right of bestowing the investiture of benefices.

Mat. Paris.

Robert is harshly treated by his brother Henry.

This dispute with the court of Rome did not divert Henry's attention from his own interest in other particulars. One of his chief aims was to reduce the exorbitant power of the nobility; and he became immensely rich by the confiscation of the barons who had declared for his brother. Among these William de Warenne, earl of Surry, retiring to Normandy, and complaining to the duke of the great estate he had lost in his cause; Robert, who had

had a great ſhare of knight-errantry in his compoſition, came over immediately to England with eleven followers, in order to perſuade his brother to make reſtitution. Henry pretended to take umbrage at this viſit, aſſembled a council extraordinary, to deliberate in what manner he ſhould be treated, and ſent a formal meſſage to know the cauſe of his arrival in England. When he expoſtulated with the king about the confiſcation of the earl of Surry, Henry upbraided him in very harſh terms with a breach of their treaty, in granting to Robert de Beleſme his father's demeſnes in Normandy; and Robert began to find himſelf in a very tickliſh ſituation. The count de Meulant, Henry's prime miniſter, hinted to him, that he had no other way of eſcaping the danger, than that of relinquiſhing his annuity; and when Robert made a preſent of this penſion to the queen, Henry's countenance cleared up, the earl of Surry was reſtored to his honours, and Robert returned to his own dominions, curſing his own raſh, unpremeditated conduct. A. C. 1103.

Ord. vital.

In the courſe of the ſucceeding year, Henry exhibited another flagrant proof of his own avarice, and hatred to thoſe whom he knew or believed to be favourers of his brother's intereſt. William count de Mortagne, and earl of Cornwall, his own couſin-german, claimed the earldom of Kent, as heir to Odo biſhop of Bayeux, who had accompanied the duke of Normandy in his expedition to the Holy land, and died at Palermo in Sicily. This demand was made of Henry at the very time of his being threatened with the laſt invaſion; and the king had amuſed him with a favourable anſwer, until the ſtorm was blown over, that William might not be provoked to join his brother: the earl accordingly obſerved a ſtrict neutrality; but when he repeated his claim after the peace, Henry

William, count of Mortagne, and earl of Cornwall, is forfeited.

not

A. C. 1104. not only mortified him with a flat denial, but alſo called him to account for ſome lands, which he affirmed William illegally poſſeſſed. He therefore inſtituted a proceſs againſt him; and the juſticiaries, after a formal trial, diveſted him not only of the lands in queſtion, but alſo of his earldom and whole fortune in England. William, enraged at this oppreſſion, retired to his county of Mortagne in Normandy, from whence he ravaged the territories which Henry had not yet relinquiſhed, according to the treaty with his brother: ſo that the count and Robert de Beleſme, at the head of two ſeparate troops of adventurers, harraſſed their native country with continual devaſtations, while the duke of Normandy had neither inclination nor means to remedy theſe diſorders; for he had already given away all his demeſnes *, except the city of Rouen, where he ſpent his time in the moſt indolent amuſements. He had indeed made one effort againſt Beleſme; but, being worſted in the field, he left his country expoſed to the arms of the victor, who being afterwards joined by the count de Mortagne, the country was left deſolate.

G. Malmeſb. Flor. Wig.

Henry forms a deſign of making a conqueſt of Normandy.

In this emergency, the Norman noblemen, who had nothing to expect from their own duke, implored the aſſiſtance of Henry, who was himſelf a ſufferer by thoſe depredations; and he was not a little pleaſed with this opportunity of intermeddling in the affairs of Normandy, which he had long looked upon with an eye of deſire. That he might veil his deſign with a ſpecious pretext, he repreſented to his brother in a letter, that his conduct

* Odericus ſays, he never refuſed any thing that was in his power to grant: he laviſhed away his money in ſuch a manner, that he was continually in want, and ſo ill provided with cloaths, that he was obliged to be a-bed whole days, otherwiſe he muſt have appeared naked; for his domeſtics abuſed his lenity to ſuch a degree, as to ſteal his breeches, ſtockings, and other apparel.

could

could not fail to give umbrage to his ſubjects, A. C. 1104.
inaſmuch as he protected a ſet of profligate wretches, who ought to be proſecuted as enemies of the public; that the peace he had made with the rebels, leaving the country expoſed to all the miſery of war, his ſubjects could no longer regard him as their ſovereign, unleſs he would rouſe himſelf from that lethargy of indolence in which he was buried, and exert himſelf like a prince who has the good of his people at heart; otherwiſe he himſelf ſhould be obliged to undertake the cauſe of thoſe who had recourſe to his aſſiſtance.

Henry invades that dutchy.

While he thus rebuked his brother for maladminiſtration, and aſſumed the protector of the oppreſſed Normans, he ſaddled his own ſubjects with an exorbitant impoſition, on pretence of maintaining the war, with which the Engliſh had no concern; and this tax was levied with all the circumſtances of rigour. Having aſſembled a numerous army, and amaſſed great ſums of money for the purpoſes of corruption, he ſet ſail for Normandy, and made himſelf maſter of Caen, and ſeveral other towns, while Robert remained inactive, and unable to traverſe his intrigues, or ſtop the progreſs of his arms. The duke of Bretagne and the count of Anjou allowed Henry to put garriſons into ſome of their frontier places, rather than make himſelf maſter of the whole dutchy, becauſe they perceived that no peace could be made, except to their prejudice. Among theſe the biſhop of Seez was the moſt indefatigable incendiary; he had been expelled from his dioceſe by the two rebellious counts, to whoſe deſtruction he therefore devoted his whole intereſt and attention, and he could never hope to ſee his revenge accompliſhed while Robert was left in poſſeſſion of his dukedom. He cultivated the good graces of Henry with the moſt officious aſſiduity; and perceiving the ſentiments of Ord. Vital.

his

A. C. 1105. his ambition, took all opportunities of inflaming it with the most artful insinuations. He expatiated on the miseries of the country that groaned under the ravages of two mercileſs tyrants; he exaggerated the indolence and misconduct of Robert; affirmed that the peace and tranquillity of Normandy would never be restored until it should have changed its master; and conjured the king to assume the reins of government, and deliver the antient subjects of his family from the slavery to which they were reduced. Henry listened with pleasure to this remonstrance, and affected to pity the distress of the Normans, which he promised to alleviate with all his power, though at the same time he professed the utmost regret in being obliged to take any step to his brother's prejudice.

Henry returns to England, whither he is followed by his brother Robert, whose proposal he rejects.

He now prosecuted the war with redoubled vigour, reducing one place after another with great rapidity, and towards the end of the campaign returned to England, to levy fresh taxes and troops, in order to finish the work he had so successfully begun. Robert being by this time convinced of his brother's design to deprive him of his dutchy, and finding his affairs in a desperate situation, took the strange resolution of appealing to Henry's natural affection, which he estimated according to the emotions of his own heart, and repaired to England during the winter, in hope of prevailing upon his brother to desist from his enterprize, and restore the towns he had taken; but he had so far misreckoned upon his brother's good nature, that he found himself treated with the utmost insolence and contempt; and Henry, far from complying with his request, gave him to understand he might think himself extremely happy in being permitted to return. Thus disappointed and despised, he quitted the kingdom in a transport of rage, pouring forth execrations and menaces, to which the king payed no sort of regard.

Ord. Vital.

Not

Not but that he was under ſome apprehenſion that Robert's wrongs would excite the compaſſion of the Engliſh nation; and as he found it neceſſary to impoſe new taxes for the proſecution of the war, he aſſembled a general council, in which he pretended to have received letters from the pope, exhorting him to reſcue Normandy from the miſgovernment of Robert, whoſe failings and infirmities he painted in the moſt glaring colours; and, amongſt other particularities of his character, expatiated upon the contempt which that prince had expreſſed for the Engliſh. On the other hand, he recapitulated the popular actions of his own reign, dwelt particularly on the charter of privileges he had granted at his coronation; promiſed to govern them always by the moſt equitable laws; and concluded his harrangue with obſerving, that while he was aſſured of the affection of his ſubjects, he ſhould never dread the machinations of his enemies. He was not diſappointed in his expectation of ſucceſs from this popular addreſs; the aſſembly thought themſelves honoured in the king's confidence, and believing that his promiſes were ſincere, unanimouſly aſſured him they would ſpend their lives and fortunes in his ſervice. He took advantage of this favourable diſpoſition to receive new ſubſidies, which enabled him to make a conſiderable augmentation in his army; and, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, croſſed the ſea, in order to finiſh the conqueſt of Normandy.

A. C. 1105. Henry makes a ſpeech in a general council of prelates and barons.

G. Malmeſ. Mat. Paris.

End of the First Volume.